Richard Lewis Neuberger

LATE A SENATOR FROM
OREGON

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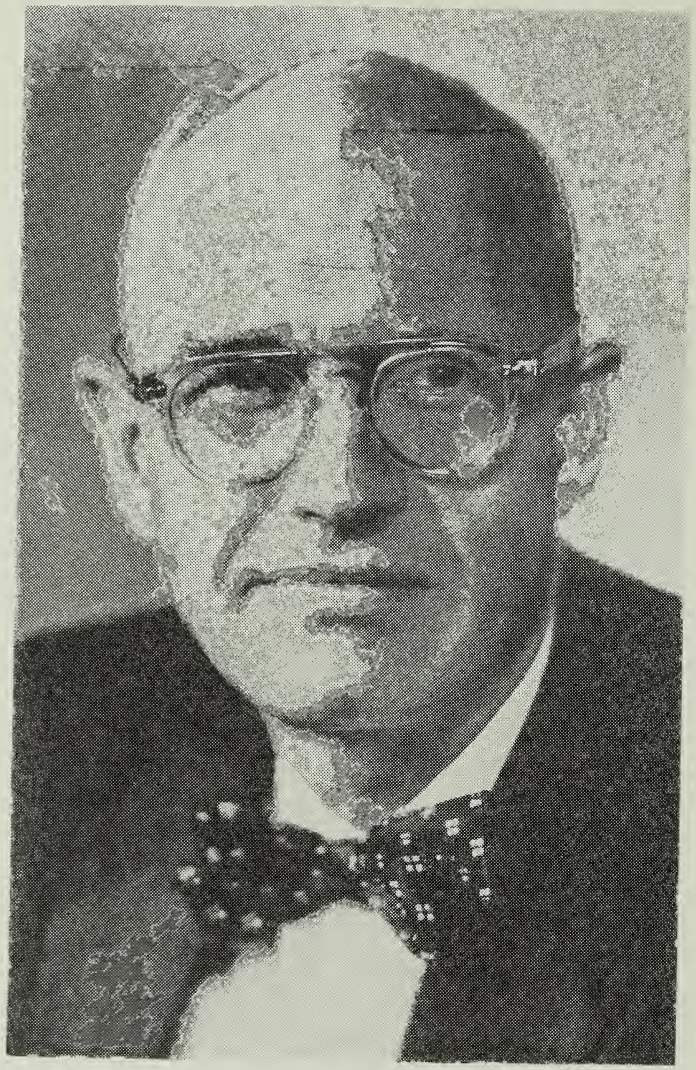

Memorial Services

HELD IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Richard Lewis Neuberger

LATE A SENATOR FROM
OREGON

U.S.

Eighty-sixth Congress
Second Session

1960.

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Biography

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER was born in Multnomah County, near Portland, Oreg., December 26, 1912; attended the public schools of Portland, Oreg.; was graduated from the University of Oregon at Eugene in 1935; author; correspondent for the New York Times 1939–1954; served in the State house of representatives in 1941 and 1942; during World War II was commissioned a lieutenant and later a captain in the United States Army and served from July 15, 1942, to August 12, 1945; aide-de-camp to Gen. James A. O'Connor during the construction of the Alaska Military Highway; in 1945 served as military aide to the American delegation at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, Calif.; member of the State senate 1949–1954; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate and served from January 3, 1955, until his death in Portland, Oreg., March 9, 1960; interment in Beth Israel Cemetery.

Memorial Services
for
Richard Lewis Neuberger

Eighty-sixth Congress
Second Session

Proceedings in the Senate

WEDNESDAY, *March 9, 1960.*

The Chaplain, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, quest of the ages, whom by searching we cannot find, we are sure of Thee not because Thou didst speak through the lips of prophets in days of old. We are sure of Thee because for those who have hearts to feel and ears to hear Thy voice resounds today.

We have heard Thee speak wherever truth is uttered. We have seen Thee in life's loveliness. We have touched Thy garment in the sacrament of human love. We have sensed Thy presence in all brave and generous deeds.

As we come to this session, our hearts are made heavy by the sudden news that the voice of a dedicated public servant will not again be heard in this Chamber. Here that voice was raised in passionate defense of the causes his conscience told him were right and just. We remember with gratitude that he was a gallant crusader in the campaign to track down the great scourge which had reached for his own life and which yearly snuffs out the mortal lives of a multitude of our people.

We would bear witness that RICHARD NEUBERGER with singleness of heart sought to know the truth and to ally himself with it. We rejoice that he knew human love which is akin to Thine, that he reveled with the poet's eye in all things lovely in nature's wonderland and in literature, and that selfless valor in great causes wherever found, for him brought Thy presence near.

As we think of the Nation's loss symbolized this day by the fluttering flags at half-mast, we pray especially for Thy consoling grace upon the companion who shared so completely his life in all its aspects. In the darkness, when the sun has gone down while it was yet day, we ask that at last,

whether soon or late by our earth calendars, Thou wilt bring us all to the homeland of Thine eternal love. Amen.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, and ask to have it read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the resolution.

S. RES. 286

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, late a Senator from the State of Oregon.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now take a recess until 9 a.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution (S. Res. 286) offered by the senior Senator from Oregon.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 58 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, March 10, 1960, at 9 o'clock a.m.

FRIDAY, *March 11, 1960.*

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Young of Ohio in the chair). The Chair announces the appointment of the following Senators to attend the funeral of the late Senator NEUBERGER at Portland, Oreg.:

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, majority leader.
Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, minority leader.
Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon.
Senator Milton R. Young, of North Dakota.
Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois.
Senator Henry Dworshak, of Idaho.
Senator Henry M. Jackson, of Washington.

Senator Frank Church, of Idaho.
Senator Ralph Yarborough, of Texas.
Senator E. L. Bartlett, of Alaska.
Senator Ernest Gruening, of Alaska.
Senator Gale W. McGee, of Wyoming.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it is with sad and heavy heart that I announce to the Senate this morning that last night my colleague, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, passed to the Great Beyond. On the basis of such information as we have up to this hour, the immediate cause of his death appeared to be a massive cerebral hemorrhage.

In the words of the great poet, John Freeman, "Last night a sword-light in the sky flashed a swift terror on the dark."

Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER wrote a great chapter in Oregon's political history. He loved young people, particularly students. His political record will for generations to come inspire young people who study it. Oregon and the Nation have lost a courageous leader, one whose voice and pen will be sorely missed in this time of national and international crisis.

Mrs. Morse and I extend to his wife, who has been his lovely partner throughout his great political career, to his wonderful mother and father, to his sister Jane, and the other fine members of his immediate family, our deepest sympathy.

I would have the Record show, Mr. President, some of the salient biographic facts about this fallen leader.

He was born in Multnomah County, Oreg., December 26, 1912; was educated in the public schools of Portland and at the University of Oregon; served in the U.S. Army from July 15, 1942, until August 12, 1945. He was an aide to Gen. James A. O'Connor during the construction of the Alaska Military Highway.

His experiences in his military service in Alaska made him one of the stanchest and most able advocates and defenders of Alaska statehood in this body when that legislative issue was before us.

He was a member of the Oregon House of Representatives in 1941 and 1942; a member of the Oregon State Senate from 1949 to 1954. He was married December 20, 1945, to H. Maurine Brown, who was born at Cloverdale, Tillamook County, Oreg., and who taught in the public schools of Portland, Newberg, and Milton-Freewater.

I think, Mr. President, it is fitting and apropos to say that all of us in the Senate, as we watched that lovely couple work as a close team in serving this Nation, not only in our State legislature, but here in the Senate of the United States, were inspired by the reflection of what a beautiful marriage really means.

Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER was one of the able authors of our generation. He wrote "Our Promised Land," "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," "Royal Canadian Mounted Police," "Adventures in Politics—We Go to the Legislature," and other books. His magazine and periodical writings, his special feature stories for various newspapers, including the New York Times, always were inspiring and educational, and made him one of the best read of our modern writers, both in the newspaper field and in the field of modern books.

He was a member of the Oregon State Grange, the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Eagles Lodge, the American Veterans Committee, Temple Beth Israel, City Club of Portland, the Izaak Walton League, the Tualatin Country Club, and other organizations.

He contributed to the Saturday Evening Post, the Reader's Digest, Harper's, Collier's, the American Reporter, the Progressive magazine, and many other periodicals.

DICK NEUBERGER traveled extensively over the entire Lewis and Clark Trail and other historic routes in the Pacific Northwest, and his writings on Pacific Northwest history have been a source of great information and inspiration to the students of our schools and colleges in the Pacific Northwest, as well as elsewhere in the Nation.

He was elected to the U.S. Senate on November 2, 1954, for the term ending January 3, 1961.

Mr. President, among the great things for which DICK NEUBERGER stood, I suppose there is none that he would more appreciate having mentioned this morning than his great record in the field of natural resources. DICK NEUBERGER was a conservationist through and through.

DICK NEUBERGER was dedicated to the cause of enlightened conservation. He truly believed that our generation has a solemn responsibility to see to it that we leave to future generations of American boys and girls a heritage of natural resources untrammeled by waste and selfish interest in our time.

I think that probably the most fitting summary which I can give of this Senator's record and the things for which he stood is to cite his own statement on March 1, 1960, when he filed for reelection to the U.S. Senate. I shall ask permission to have the complete statement printed at the close of my remarks, but I wish to quote from it at this time. In offering himself for reelection to the U.S. Senate, DICK NEUBERGER listed these as some of his major legislative achievements in Congress:

Sponsorship of the bill authorizing $90 million to save the vast pine forest and wildlife marshes of the Klamath Basin and Indian Reservation from overnight destruction.

Sponsorship of the bill establishing Oregon's first historic shrine under the National Park Service, at Fort Clatsop, near Astoria.

Sponsorship of the first Federal legislation setting standards for the protection of roadside beauty and scenery along the 42,000-mile Interstate Highway System.

The inclusion, for the first time in a waterways bill, of an authorization for the $19 million Yaquina Bay project on the central Oregon seacoast.

First Senator to sponsor an increase in the Federal gasoline tax so the U.S. highway network could be kept on a pay-as-you-go basis without resort to deficit financing.

Sponsorship of fair across-the-board increases in all classes of postal revenues in order to reduce the staggering fiscal

deficit in the Post Office Department and to pay adequate wages to postal workers.

Sponsorship of voluntary health insurance and medical program for public employees, which could become the model for protecting the health of every American citizen.

Leadership in increasing Federal funds for medical research generally and cancer research in particular, including sponsorship of a $1.3 million grant for a great medical research center at the University of Oregon Medical School.

Senator NEUBERGER also listed these two legislative projects of his which he regarded as "hopefully close to success":

The creation of an Oregon seacoast national park in Lane, Douglas, and Coos Counties, thus giving our State its first new national park since Crater Lake Park was established in 1902.

Legislation setting up a Columbia River regional development corporation so that revenues from existing projects can be used to finance urgently needed new undertakings in the field of water power, navigation, irrigation, and flood control.

Mr. President, it is not only these legislative proposals which DICK NEUBERGER listed as the legislative record which he would have the voters of Oregon consider, and which he would leave behind him as a legislative monument, but he assisted the Senate in the passage of many other pieces of legislation. I think his achievements can be well summarized by saying that DICK NEUBERGER had a tendency to ask himself the question, when he had the task of voting in the Senate, "On which side of this issue do I believe human welfare to be found?" DICK NEUBERGER believed that, after all, our great wealth is to be found in our people. He sought, across State lines, to serve the people by promoting at all times the legislation which he believed would best promote their general welfare.

His most recent writing is to be found in a newsletter which he published on March 7, a newsletter in which he discussed two subject matters which I think it appropriate for me to mention as I pay tribute and make this sad announcement of his death this morning. In this letter, he

discussed the proposed legislation which is pending before the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point that part of Senator NEUBERGER'S newsletter which sets forth his views concerning the proposed civil rights legislation:

DISCRIMINATION AS A CONDITION, NOT A THEORY

Accounts of the marathon debate on civil rights are heavily burdened with descriptions of the procedural tactics of opponents and proponents of this legislation. Sometimes the substantive issues slip out of sight. Facts contained in the recent report of the Commission on Civil Rights emphasize what the struggle in the Senate is all about:

Only 25 percent of the approximately 5 million Negroes of voting age living in the South are registered to vote. About 60 percent of voting-age southern whites are registered.

Compliance with the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on segregation in schools has been initiated by 11 southern States. But 6 States have flatly refused to comply, and only one-fourth of all biracial school districts in the 17 States have started to desegregate.

Nearly 70 percent of nonwhite families live in dwellings which are dilapidated or contain inadequate plumbing. While one-third of all nonfarm dwellings occupied by nonwhites have more than one person per room, only one in eight of all such white-occupied dwellings are this crowded.

This is what discrimination means.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in this newsletter, written as recently as March 7, Senator NEUBERGER quoted from the report of the Civil Rights Commission. He pleaded with his pen once more for legislation which would give to the Negroes of this country the right to vote. He pleaded with his pen once more, as he would, I am certain, if he were with us today, plead with his voice, that the Senate pass a meaningful civil rights bill, a civil rights bill which not only would give to the colored people of the Nation a guarantee of their right to vote, but also would give to them those other guarantees, which are necessary if the 14th and 15th amendments are to have meaning to the colored people of America, and if they are to enjoy first-class citizenship. In his brilliant

style, cogently he made that argument in his last newsletter. I am proud to incorporate that part of his newsletter as a part of my tribute to his memory.

In the same newsletter, he penned again his plea for the conservation of youth. He spoke about the need for legislation which he said he was pressing in the Senate which would provide for a youth training corps in the Foreign Service as well as at home. He proposed that our youth be sent abroad to assist with our foreign policy, in a program of technical assistance, a program of natural resource development, a program which would enable the youth assigned to it to be of assistance to our Foreign Service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that part of Senator NEUBERGER's newsletter of March 7, 1960, be printed at this point:

POINT 4 YOUTH CORPS: AN OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE

Why not utilize the enthusiasm and talents of American youth to help sell democracy abroad? Representative Henry Reuss, of Wisconsin, has introduced legislation to help accomplish this purpose. He proposes a nongovernmental study of the advisability and practicability of establishing a Point 4 Youth Corps through which young men and women might serve around the world in U.S. technical cooperation programs. I have introduced identical legislation in the Senate.

Such a program could well be a powerful force for increased world understanding. It would add manpower to carry out economic programs in underdeveloped nations, personally acquaint citizens in other lands of American ideals and aspirations, and provide American young people with an opportunity to serve their country in a stimulating fashion. One of the questions to be considered in the suggested study is whether service in the corps should be considered as satisfying military service obligations. In the current cold war, we need persons with the ability to set up a rural school in the jungle as well as those with knowledge of how to operate a machinegun. How could we better explain the United States and its desire for world peace than through sending to aid needy nations our most valuable commodity—our youth?

Mr. MORSE. Then, in a recent article in the Reader's Digest, DICK NEUBERGER wrote on the subject: "The Best

Advice I Ever Had." I think it would be of interest to the Senate for me to read just a brief quotation from that article, in which he wrote:

> Later, at his home in Calgary, I asked the famous man hunter of the mounted how he accounted for such affection, rarely given to a man with the stern task of upholding the law. La Nauze looked at me out of pale blue eyes that had squinted across bleak miles of frozen tundra. "DICK," he replied, "I suppose those people in the north country still think well of me because I followed a rule that I would recommend in all human relationships. No matter how decisive things seemed to be on my side, I always kept in mind one thought: The other fellow may be right."

Then DICK wrote:

> Perhaps because of the impressive dignity of the man, his advice has lingered in my memory and guided me. It has given me second thoughts in situations where once I felt all too sure of myself.

Mr. President, it is due to this fallen leader to say that he put into practice, as a mode of conduct, this bit of advice which he attributed to this Canadian mountie, who told him on that day: "Always keep in mind one thought: the other fellow may be right."

All of us in the Senate know, Mr. President, the courage with which DICK NEUBERGER faced death when he knew that he was afflicted with cancer.

It has been a great encouragement, I am sure, to the rest of us, to read Senator NEUBERGER'S account of his meeting up with the knowledge that he might be afflicted with a cancer which would give him but a few years or, possibly, a few months, to live.

For Coronet he wrote recently a stirring article entitled "Let's Build a 'Crash Program' To Beat Cancer."

He had made clear, in speech after speech here in the Senate, that he intended to dedicate a good part of his public service to an effort to try to awaken the American people to the need of giving support to those medical research programs and those hospitalization programs and those medical programs necessary to reduce, at least, if not

conquer, the great scourge of cancer. In this Coronet article he set forth his views in regard to this challenge to face, and this obligation to meet, the cancer threat. I ask unanimous consent that this recent article of DICK NEUBERGER'S be incorporated at this point as part of my remarks.

[From Coronet, January 1960]

LET'S BUILD A "CRASH PROGRAM" TO BEAT CANCER

(By Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon)

(When cancer suddenly struck this Senator, he realized gratefully that research, for which he'd voted funds, was saving his life and might save the lives of 45 million other Americans.)

What if we knew, without the slightest doubt, that a foreign foe intended to attack us with nuclear missiles or germ warfare? What if we also knew, with equal certainty, that some 30 million of us would perish in agony from this assault, while 15 million more would suffer great pain or be permanently maimed?

A menace of these ghastly proportions does imperil 45 million Americans today, although not in the form of hydrogen warheads or lethal gas. It often gives even less warning than these. The name of the menace is cancer. From the cruel ravages of this disease, two out of every three American families in every avenue and echelon of society are destined to suffer painfully.

The American Government would spare no effort or expense to repel any military attack that threatened 45 million of us. Our Federal Treasury would be emptied, if necessary, to pay for armaments and weapons. Our vast private wealth and resources would be thrown into the fray.

Yet, despite the terrible threat of cancer, we spend far less on research into its causes and possible cures than we do, for instance, to build half a dozen B–58 bombers. Our annual expenditure for doughnuts more than triples what we spend in search of an answer to the curse of cancer. Nor does our total outlay for lifesaving cancer research compare with what we spend on cigarettes or liquor or radio and television repairs or even chewing gum.

What is the reason for such glaring inequities?

I think I can answer that from my personal experience. It's because we all believe, down deep, that it will never be ourselves who will get cancer. It's always the other fellow. I know. I once had such feelings myself. I don't now and for a good reason: I am a cancer victim.

I always had intellectual convictions that cancer was a dangerous enemy, and I've spent a good part of my senatorial career successfully fighting for more funds for Government cancer research.

But now my feelings about cancer come from my own bitter, personal experience; and it wasn't all bitter, at that. I'm one of the lucky ones. My cancer was caught early—an accident, you might say—I'd gone to my doctor about something else entirely, and he found the growth I'd never noticed. There was no pain, no warning. My doctor's skill was responsible, of course, but it was just luck that I visited him. And it was luck that my cancer, which began in my testicle and had spread to a minor degree to the edges of my lungs, was one of the kind that responds to the new ways of treatment available.

One of my vivid nightmares is to recall the mixture of incredulity and fear which swept over me when our family doctor told me I had cancer. I just could not accept his terrifying words. This just could not be me.

And then, later, as I came out from under the anesthetic, following surgery, the doctors told me that they confidently expected me to recover. While I stared at them in doubt, they explained that my tumor had been diagnosed as a type sensitive to radiation. Further, the doctors added, cobalt and high-voltage X-ray therapy, developed in recent years, could destroy the tiny but potentially lethal metastases which, even then, lurked on the outer edge of each of my lungs.

I can tell you that the cancer victim is frequently the loneliest person in the world. He feels that nothing can help him. Friends, family, doctors, associates all seem without power to check the malignant growth that perils his life. He wishes, desperately and profoundly, for some miraculous cure which will bring a reprieve.

In the weeks and months of radiation therapy which followed, I lay beneath the X-ray cone for a few minutes every weekday and blessed the long line of men and women whose findings in medical research, over the decades, were helping to save my life. Several well-known doctors wrote me letters saying that funds, for which I had voted in the U.S. Senate, had paid for perfecting the very radiation equipment being used in my own treatment. And when such letters came, I could only think in terror of what the outcome might have been for me if such equipment had not been developed.

I recall one dramatic conversation I had with the radiologist treating me, which demonstrates my personal reliance on the results of medical research.

"The spread to the lung of the type of tumor which you have can be destroyed permanently if an adequate number of roentgens (a measure of X-rays) can be conveyed to the lesions," the doctor had said. Then he added:

"With cobalt or high-voltage X-ray, we know we can deliver to your lungs—safely and tolerably—enough roentgens."

"What if you didn't have these things?" I inquired.

"With the early X-ray equipment we often failed," the doctor said, "because the skin and tissues of the patient were damaged too severely before the necessary dosage could be administered internally."

I wondered what my fate would have been if I had suffered from the same malignancy a few years earlier.

At the recent Senate hearings on appropriations for the National Cancer Institute, our Government-supported research center, Dr. I. S. Ravdin of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine told a gripping story which filled us all with hope. In the early 1920's, a noted doctor visited the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine in Philadelphia and lunched with Dr. Alfred Stengel.

"How is your son Tom?" Dr. Stengel asked his friend.

"I wish young Tom were dead," his friend said, his voice heavy with sorrow. "He has diabetes. He is 13 and yet he isn't any bigger than a normal boy of 6. He can't possibly live and grow up."

Dr. Stengel replied, "Tom, you ought not to talk this way. Next month, next year, or the year after, someone has got to come up with a solution for diabetes."

Within 24 hours of that prophetic conversation between the two physicians, the discovery of insulin that could be injected into human beings was announced. It brought life and hope to sufferers from diabetes all over the world. Young Tom was the second patient ever treated with insulin in the United States. Today he is married, has five children of his own and is himself a distinguished doctor. Yet what would have been his destiny if medical researchers had not been delving for years for an answer to diabetes?

My wife Maurine and I visited the Children's Cancer Research Foundation in Boston, where Dr. Sidney Farber and his associates have some 376 children under treatment for cancer, many of them victims of the dreaded cancer of the blood and bone marrow, leukemia. We saw the agonized stare of parents who cannot believe their beloved child suffers from the incurable disease. Yet, these poor little leukemia victims, who used to survive an average of only 3 or 5 months, now live almost 2 years. One boy was kept alive and vigorous for 8 years through chemical agents.

A major breakthrough has not been achieved in leukemia, but researchers are on the frontier of important advances. Dr. Farber believes that the annual screening of some 40,000 chemicals for the treatment of cancer offers the brightest prospect for a startling new discovery. A universal blood or urine test for cancer is another goal.

But progress depends entirely upon findings in laboratories. Money is needed to train researchers, to build facilities and furnish grants for their operation. Last year, the American Cancer Society spent over $13 million for cancer research. Much of the remainder of the society's $30 million of voluntary donations went for service to cancer patients, supported the nationwide program of education to acquaint Americans with the danger signals of cancer, and to persuade them to have annual physical checkups.

Out of the $75 million budget of the National Cancer Institute, about $68 million went into some phase of research. About $4 million was spent in cancer research through the Damon Runyon Memorial Fund, the Sloan-Kettering Institute, and various pharmaceutical firms. Impressive gains have been made but the blank wall of cancer still stands. How can we breach that wall?

Most scientists in the vital field of cancer research believe there is a direct relationship between the number of men and women engaged in their work and the time when a cure finally will be found. Listen to Dr. Howard A. Rusk, distinguished medical editor of the New York Times:

"When will the scientific breakthrough come to solve the riddle of cancer? No one knows. What we do know, however, is that the more scientists who are at work on the problem in laboratories all over the world, the greater are the odds for solution and the quicker that solution will come."

And Dr. Lowell T. Coggeshall of the University of Chicago, who retired about a year ago as president of the American Cancer Society, says: "Some people ask in good conscience, 'Isn't there a limit to the funds that could be spent fruitfully on cancer research?' Of course there is a limit, but we have not nearly reached it."

So why not a genuine crash program of cancer research? Why not place half a billion dollars—the cost of 25 B–58 bombers—at the disposal of the National Cancer Institute for grants in a realm where countless lives might be saved? Dr. Leonard Scheele, ex-Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, once told me that half a billion dollars could be used constructively for cancer research. He suggested that the sum be carried over from year to year until fully expended, thus permitting continuity in vital projects which now have only annual duration. "In addition," said Dr. Scheele, "a considerable portion of the amount should be dedicated to the training of new scientists in the health field—just as a major share of our military budget is for the training of fliers, navigators, and other fighting men."

Half a billion dollars may seem like a lot of money per se, but not when we relate it to the lives of 45 million American victims of cancer. It comes down to only slightly more than $10 per life—per irreplaceable human life.

When I speak of a "crash" program for cancer research, I have in mind the determined Federal action that took place in 1940 after Dr. Albert Einstein had sent his historic letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, with its warnings of Nazi experiments in nuclear fission. The all-out crash program to crack the atom followed immediately, with over $2 billion spent through the top-secret Manhattan project. Scientists claimed that 50 years of research were compressed into 4 or 5 years as a result of this unstinted effort.

Why, then, are we capable of such a crash program when the menace is a foreign foe, but not when it is deadly cells running wild through our own bodies?

Yet even the increase in funds for the National Cancer Institute, from nearly $22 million (in 1955) to $110 million (for this year), has not been accomplished without the most persistent sort of congressional activity. The national administration has refused to recommend budget increases for cancer research despite the fact that illustrious supporters such as Senator Robert A. Taft, Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles all have succumbed to cancer within the last 7 years.

Furthermore, cancer recognizes neither border nor breed nor birth. It can strike down the millionaire on Park Avenue and the tribesman in his Congo hut. Our Government spends more than $3.4 billion a year in foreign aid to strengthen our alliances with other free nations. Yet imagine the worldwide thrill if some scientific breakthrough were to liberate mankind from the terrifying menace of cancer. That is why Senator Lister Hill has promoted an Institute of International Health, to help place the necessary funds at the disposal of scientists anywhere on earth who can contribute to the control of cancer and other diseases. The sole test would be medical findings rather than national allegiances.

We look back now with pity on the recent era when pneumonia was almost always fatal, when children were struck down from diphtheria and scarlet fever, when infected throats in childhood often meant lethal Bright's disease in later years. What will be the emotions of the next epoch of mankind as it looks back upon our frequent helplessness in the face of cancer? Will it mourn that so many men, women, and children in our era perished needlessly because they lived a little too soon—before the "crash" effort which at last brought cancer to bay?

What ought to be done? I favor a five-point program:

1. The sum of $500 million for the National Cancer Institute, to be distributed in grants for cancer research to any medical school, clinic, hospital, pharmaceutical house or private physician where a promising lead had been developed.

2. Increased support through private giving to such voluntary groups as the American Cancer Society and the Damon Runyon Memorial Fund.

3. Forgiveness of 50 percent of loans under the National Scholarship Act to any medical student or other scientist who will spend at least 5 years in medical research. This should be accomplished by grants to medical schools for the construction of research facilities.

4. The international pooling of medical discoveries through an Institute of International Health, as well as the calling of an International Medical Year in 1960 to parallel the recent International Geophysical Year. Surely the study of a killing disease is as important as the study of rocks, ice and sea water.

5. Take our Red Cross hospital ships out of mothballs and send them overseas, staffed with American doctors and nurses and sanitary technicians, to help underdeveloped nations under our foreign aid program to fight cancer and other diseases. In many less fortunate nations, infant mortality is shockingly high and blindness affects a large segment of the adult population, to some degree. These people would rather keep their babies or have reasonable vision than have their streets paved.

I may be unduly conscious of the urgency of such programs because the results of medical research have saved my life. When we were discussing in the Senate late last June the appropriations for the National Institute of Health, I told my colleagues that I owed my very presence in the marble Chamber to findings sponsored by the National Cancer Institute. The Democratic majority leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, who suffered a massive coronary attack in 1955, declared that he could say the identical thing about discoveries made possible through the research grants program of the National Heart Institute. Because cancer and heart disease recognize no aisle between the political parties, our Republican colleague on the other side of the Chamber, Senator Kenneth Keating, of New York, said to Senator Johnson and to me: "If the appropriations for medical research have had any force in bringing about both of those results or either of them, they have surely proved their effectiveness. I shall certainly support this increased amount for medical research."

Will increased expenditures result in finding a cure for cancer? The American Cancer Society points out that earlier diagnosis and

advances in treatment have increased the cancer cure rate from one out of every four cancer victims to one in three. To the cancer patient, like myself, such things are more than mere numbers. They are survival—the chance to breathe anew, to walk in the woods, to revel in the affection of family and friends, to see the glories of the sunrise and to drink in the wonders of the starlit night.

I'm happier to be alive than I've ever been. Having cancer has changed all my attitudes, all my values. When you're facing the terrible threat of this foul disease, you suddenly discover what's important. The petty discomforts and irritations that used to bother you disappear; and so do ordinary ambitions and attitudes. I don't think I'll ever cease being grateful to my wife for just being my wife; I know I'll never again consider a piece of legislation primarily on its politically partisan aspects.

As a cancer patient, I want to help others who have suffered or who may suffer this disease. I want to encourage them and their families as I was encouraged and supported by cancer progress. I want more: I want to see us lick this disease the way we've licked the infectious diseases. I sincerely believe the world would be more electrified by a breakthrough in cancer than it was by a rocket landing on the moon. As a U.S. Senator, I'm more convinced than ever that we should economize in any other sphere of Government than funds for the research program of the National Cancer Institute—because economy at the expense of human life is the worst extravagance of all.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am sure that most of us have read the article he wrote in October 1951 for Think magazine, in regard to the great contest he had with cancer. I am going to read the last paragraph of the article, because I think it very appropriate as we honor his memory today. He wrote:

A Shadow's Length

"For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow." So it is written in Job 8: 9. But we cling to this wraith, shadowy though it may be. It ties us to those we love and to the pleasures of human existence, fleeting and transitory as they are. A tortoise which saw Capt. James Cook, explorer of the South Seas, come ashore from H.M.S. *Resolution* in the 1700's, is under guard in the Tonga Islands. When I look at Mount Hood's eternal snows from our home in Portland, I know I am seeing exactly the same profile of lava rock that came

within the telescopes of the first westbound Americans. And so will Mount Hood remain when our descendants have landing platforms in outer space. Man's days may be brief and transient and low-numbered, but he finds them sweet, nevertheless. "Life, if thou knowest how to use it, is long enough," wrote the wise Seneca, and who is there to gainsay him?

As we read this article of Senator DICK NEUBERGER, we are reading the comment of a man who was not afraid to die.

Mr. President, as he faced death, which I am satisfied he knew was not far away, because of the cancer affliction which overtook him, he demonstrated, time and time again, that he was not afraid to die.

In fact—and I speak my own personal view when I say this—I have the feeling, Mr. President, that DICK NEUBERGER knew that the possibilities were great that he would die in the not too distant future. I believe that, when he went back to Portland a few weeks ago, he knew the probabilities were great that he would never return to this body. But I am sure that during those weeks there arose in him again the hope that he might come back—which explains his filing for reelection on March 1.

Yet I am satisfied that this man knew he was facing death, and up to the very last, Mr. President, his pen and his voice wrote and spoke out with words of optimism and encouragement for the living, because he knew there was still much to be done.

Before I close, I wish to say, Mr. President, that DICK NEUBERGER was a partner with his associates in his office in Washington, D.C. He was a partner with his administrative assistant, his legislative assistant, and his research assistant, who are sitting beside me this morning on the floor of the Senate, as we honor the memory of DICK NEUBERGER.

Mr. President, to his office staff, of which he was so proud, I wish to say what I have said to Mr. Lloyd Tupling, his administrative assistant: I and my office staff stand at their service.

In closing this tribute, I know of no words more fitting than those of Edwin Markham when he wrote of Lincoln:

HE HELD HIS PLACE

Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

We will all be lonesome because this fallen leader is no more in mortal flesh, but his record will live on as his monument.

FROM SENATOR NEUBERGER'S ANNOUNCEMENT FOR REELECTION

NEUBERGER described his own record as one "which stressed both liberalism and fiscal responsibility." He said he had always emphasized the broad humanitarian needs of the American people, but that he had insisted that programs of social welfare be paid for in our own time by current revenues rather than being financed in the form of deficits. "This may not be popular," he added, "but I know it is right."

If he is reelected to another term in the Senate, NEUBERGER said he would continue to concentrate on specific legislative goals rather than indulge in personal political abuse.

NEUBERGER is recuperating at home from a long series of virus infections brought on by overwork and excessive fatigue. He said he intends to continue his convalescence until his vitality and resistance to such infections has been restored, and realized now he had gone at too hard a pace during recent years. "I have reviewed the record of American voters with respect to many leading public officials, such as President Eisenhower, Senator Lyndon Johnson, Senator John Kennedy, Gov. William Egan of Alaska, and others who have had to take extensive rests," said NEUBERGER, "and I believe the people of Oregon will be no less tolerant and understanding in my own case."

Mr. MORSE. I am sure that if Maurine Neuberger and the mother, father, sister, and other members of DICK NEUBERGER'S family had been here today to hear these beautiful tributes—which have really turned our session today, Mr. President, I think, into a memorial service for this great colleague of mine—they would want me, as we close, to

express their deep appreciation for the things that have been said here today, for the beautiful expressions of faith—which is what these expressions have been—in tribute to the character and the life and the contributions of this man.

So, Mr. President, I exercise the prerogative of speaking in their behalf these words of appreciation and thanks, and also in my capacity as senior Senator from the State of Oregon, I express the appreciation of the people of my State for the tributes that have been paid here this morning.

I would have the Record show, Mr. President, that there have been seated with me on the floor of the Senate this morning throughout this meeting of tribute, the very able administrative assistant of Senator NEUBERGER, Mr. Lloyd Tupling, his very able legislative assistant, Mr. Larry Hobart, his friend and associate for many years in the State of Oregon, his research assistant, Mr. Walter Dodd, and a staff consultant who has been of assistance to him on many issues affecting natural resource problems, Mr. Mitchelmore.

I am privileged to say, Mr. President, that they, through me, too, wish to express to the Senate of the United States their gratitude and thanks for these services—because I like to think of this session as a memorial service in honor of the memory of the man who meant so much to them, to whom they are so indebted, and who, in turn, I am sure, if he were here, would say that he would want me to express his gratitude to them.

Mr. President, as the colleague of Senator NEUBERGER, I also wish to express my personal thanks to the Senate for the tributes which have been paid.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask that action on the resolution be temporarily withheld.

Mr. President, my feelings about the sad news of the passing of DICK NEUBERGER are very personal. He was a warm friend and a very genuine person.

DICK NEUBERGER was a man of many qualities which endeared him to all of us in this body. He had a great heart. He had great courage. He was totally dedicated to his con-

victions. We always knew where DICK NEUBERGER stood. Hypocrisy was completely foreign to his makeup. DICK NEUBERGER stated his views frankly, and he stuck to them. At the same time, Mr. President, he had a deep understanding of those who differed honorably with him.

The Senate meets today in a mood of sorrow. All of us who have assembled here know that words are inadequate to bring comfort to DICK NEUBERGER'S loved ones.

Mr. President, our Nation has lost a public servant of the highest caliber. Most of us have lost one of the best friends we ever had. I want his wife and family to know that our hearts and our prayers are with them; and we hope that, somehow, time will bring healing solace.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the dissolution of the earthly temple that harbors the spirit is always a sad adventure. It is doubly sad when it occurs to a friend. In this case it is exceptionally sad, for it happens not only to a friend, but to a colleague.

The whole mystery of life, I guess, is resolved in death. But on occasions like this, it has always occurred to me that in all the pages of history I can think of only one whose dissolution, rather than whose beginning, has regularly been observed, and that is the patron saint who is commemorated in this month of March—St. Patrick. Perhaps the reason for observing the date of his passing is that the date of his beginning has been obscured in history. But, Mr. President, on occasions like this, I do not think of the end, but, rather, of the beginning, of the wonderful thing it is that life could issue, and that in due course the talent could enfold and could make its constructive contribution to the benefit of our country and to the well-being of mankind.

On many occasions I have said that I know of no greater endowments that the Almighty has given to humankind than, in fact, two great blessings: One, the capacity to remember; the other, the ability to forget.

We can forget all the foibles, all the weaknesses; we can forget all the little exceptions we might have taken in the

course of life. But on the hard granite, and on something even more enduring, the human heart, we can enshrine all the nice things we can remember from the glorious past.

Ours would be an impoverished life if we could not summon up from all the wells of remembrance the recollection of a kind touch on a fevered brow and a gentle smile and a thoughtful word that helped lift us and brighten life for us when the day darkened. As the years pass, those things grow in importance, out of God's gift to mankind of the capacity to remember.

So, Mr. President, when we look back and remember, we remember DICK NEUBERGER'S wonderful character.

When I first read of his campaign on the west coast, and when there came to my attention some of the things he allegedly stood for, I am not at all sure that there did not build up in my mind a kind of reserve; and before I got to know him at all, I regarded him with perhaps a sort of baleful eye. But all such feeling was suddenly dissolved by the great solvent of his human personality; and, Mr. President, today I confess publicly that I developed a deep affection for DICK NEUBERGER when I got to know him.

DICK NEUBERGER took glory, indeed, in the fact that he was a liberal. But one of the great things about him was that he was an independent liberal. He had great convictions, and he cherished those convictions and rode with them through thick and thin.

So the Senate has really lost a great Senator. The State of Oregon has lost a great public servant. All of us have lost a friend and a colleague for whom we had not only admiration but affection.

Thus it is, Mr. President, that on this day we remember, not so much his passing, but the fact that he was here. That is the great and the important thing in the entire scheme of life.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I feel a deep sense of personal loss in the death of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, and I

extend heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Neuberger and the Senator's family.

Senator NEUBERGER was interested in resources, and in the heritage we leave to future generations, not only in terms of physical resources, but also in terms of institutions which would assure abundance, peace, and fruitful human life.

It has been a great privilege to work with him in relation to resources matters, in which he constantly represented the masses of citizens struggling to preserve for them, and for posterity, some of our great public assets unmarred for perpetual public enjoyment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, last Friday I read in the Portland newspapers an announcement to the effect that the doctors of our beloved colleague, DICK NEUBERGER, had given him a clean bill of health, insofar as his ability to run for reelection to the U.S. Senate was concerned. I penned DICK NEUBERGER a note in which I expressed my delight and my gladness that that was so.

Therefore, Mr. President, today, naturally, it was a great shock to me to learn that a relapse had caused his death.

I have known DICK NEUBERGER all my adult life. I had many conferences with him during the time when he was considering running for election to the U.S. Senate. I sat with him on many occasions and urged him to get into the race, because of his deep, devoted feelings regarding the field of conservation and the development of our natural resources, which are so important to our area. He was dedicated to that cause. He had written much about it. He had spoken often about it, and he devoted to that cause much of his career in writing.

DICK NEUBERGER did run for election to the U.S. Senate; and I think that, more than anything else, the people of the State of Oregon felt that in him they had a man devoted to that program.

I wish to put more in the Record regarding DICK NEUBERGER, because I feel that the people should know a great deal more about his life's work and his life's dedication.

Today, I do wish to take the opportunity, of course, to express my feelings to his fine wife, to his family, and to those around him, because I, too, have lost an old friend.

But, second, I wish to point out to the Senate, again, that the times seem now, as they have in the past, to emphasize what DICK NEUBERGER in the last few months of his life had called to our attention and to the attention of the Nation.

About 20 years ago, a distinguished Member of this body, a Senator from the State of Washington, Homer T. Bone, introduced a bill which was the first of its kind in the history of Congress; it was dedicated to making some start in an attack upon the dread killer of mankind—cancer.

I had the privilege, while in the House of Representatives, of joining Senator Bone of Washington in sponsoring that bill. The bill, which was sponsored by the entire Senate, was passed, and out of it came the establishment of what is now known as the National Cancer Institute, in an effort to see what we could do to be helpful with other organizations and medical science and scientists to attack this dread killer. We met some success but since that time I have watched some of our very distinguished colleagues in our own body and other Americans fall one by one to this disease. I was here when the Senator from Connecticut, Brien McMahon, who served with many of us in this body, went the way of DICK NEUBERGER. And then the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, who was then the minority leader, Kenneth Wherry, went the same way. Then the distinguished Senator from Ohio, Robert Taft, the great American, was also felled by this killer, and now it has hit home again with RICHARD NEUBERGER.

I am sure that what he said, and what was said by the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] who expresses his feeling that he might contribute to the future of mankind in an effort to do something about this second killer of all Americans, cancer, has contributed. Not only did Senator NEUBERGER contribute all his life to the great cause of the development of our natural resources, he con-

tributed something else, in an effort to help create a public alertness, help create in the minds of those who are working so hard on this dread killer a renewed energy, in the hope that some day we may find a solution.

Mr. President, as I said, I have lost an old friend. The Senate has lost a distinguished and able Member. The State of Oregon has lost one of its finest citizens, and the Nation is sad in the death of DICK NEUBERGER.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER was our good neighbor. He loved his Nation, his Northwest, his State, and his hometown.

With his artistic pen, he led an unrelenting fight over the years to conserve and better utilize, for all, the great resources of our Northwest and our Nation. He was a conservationist not only of our natural resources, but of human values.

He was an effective advocate, pursuing with great skill and vigor the causes which were fortunate enough to have his support. In the end, however, his decisions were tempered by a judicial determination to be fair and just to all.

He was, indeed, a dedicated statesman, an honorable man, a noble soul. I have lost an irreplaceable friend and neighbor of more than 20 years. The Senate has lost a truly great U.S. Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It is with heavy hearts that Mrs. Mansfield and I join in the tributes paid to our late colleague from Oregon, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. My thoughts go first to those who were closest to him, to his wife and family, and I extend to them the poor comfort which words of sympathy are at such a moment. The loss which they have suffered is deep and personal.

Others will feel this loss. The Senate will grieve. The people of the State of Oregon and elsewhere mourn.

RICHARD NEUBERGER brought a special contribution to the public life of the Nation. He gave us a great personal integrity, tempered with human warmth and understanding

and a gentle touch of humor. He gave us, in his life, an example of courage in the face of pain and adversity. He gave us in his work an example of service to the welfare of the people of the Nation, a service which was as dedicated as it was modest and unassuming. He did more than any other man of his time to awaken the Congress and the Nation to the priceless treasure of the rivers and forests—the wilderness around us. He worked to preserve this treasure for all Americans against the ravages of the selfish and the neglect of the unthinking.

For these things and more, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER will be remembered. He will be remembered for these efforts especially by those of us from the Northwestern States from whence he came, from Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Alaska. We would regard it as a fitting tribute if a Federal wilderness area in that region were named after this great Senator who did so much to save these areas.

Had he lived longer, RICHARD NEUBERGER would have done more, much more, for Oregon, the Northwest, and the Nation. Yet even in death his presence will be felt. For he was as a quiet star among us, burning for a brief moment, a star whose light remains after it is gone.

Mr. President, when I came to my desk this morning there was a note there to the effect that Senator NEUBERGER had requested me to put in the Record an editorial from the Oregon Statesman, of Salem, Oreg., dated March 2, 1960, entitled, "Peggy in the Senate." Let me read the words I had intended to employ this morning before I had heard of the unfortunate passing of our late great colleague, Senator NEUBERGER:

SENATOR NEUBERGER ASKS CONSIDERATION OF APPEAL FOR APPOINTMENT OF GIRL PAGES

Recently the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. NEUBERGER, brought to my attention an editorial from the Oregon Statesman, a daily newspaper published in Salem, Oreg., asking the question: "Why does not the U.S. Senate provide girls with the opportunity to become pages?"

The editorial cites the ambition of Peggy Price, of Eugene, Oreg., to serve as a Senate page, but reports that Miss Price has found that the fact she is a girl is regarded as a strike against her. "If the Senators someday feel that we might have a woman President, they certainly should feel that lesser positions should be filled by women first," she declares.

Senator NEUBERGER has contacted the Senate Sergeant at Arms, whose office has jurisdiction over Senate pages, urging that consideration be given to the spirited appeal of Miss Price. So that the Senate may be aware of this question, I ask that the Oregon Statesman editorial be printed at this point in my remarks.

The editorial I was to present for printing I send forward with the request that it be printed:

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Statesman, Mar. 2, 1960]

PEGGY IN THE SENATE

Fifteen-year-old Peggy Price wants to be a page in the U.S. Senate but she writes that "my sex has hindered my dream some." Well, Peggy, we don't believe your sex should hinder you at all, and we agree with your observation that "if Senators someday feel that we might have a woman President, they certainly should feel that lesser positions should be filled by women first." And, of course, they are. So why not a page?

Peggy is the daughter of Warren Price, tough and able professor at the University of Oregon Journalism School, some of whose former students are serving capably right here on the news staff of the Oregon Statesman.

Peggy, if it will do you any good, we'll see that the Statesman's opinion gets to both of Oregon's Senators. And we hope you'll find help in other quarters, too. True, Senate pages are traditionally boys. But tradition isn't the sole governor of our lives. If you want to be a Senate page, power to you. And Senator, too, for that matter.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, as I drove to the Capitol earlier this morning and saw the flags flying at half mast I knew their sad portent, that DICK NEUBERGER had passed away. The Senate has lost a great Senator, indeed, we may say a great statesman, and Senators, each of us, have lost a friend here. Mr. NEUBERGER was a man of courage, courage unflinching in the face of a dread affliction, the scourge of humankind, which finally won the battle; but of courage,

too, in the business of Government and politics in which we are all engaged, courage which I remember, caused him to rise in his place on the other side of the aisle, when others did not do so, to speak out for the principles which he held dear.

DICK NEUBERGER was loyal to his political party, but he was not subservient to it; and I think his memory might well be honored by us, his colleagues, in remembering how he conducted himself, steadfast and true to the principles of American Government which he ever followed.

Those on this side of the aisle were proud to call him a friend, as those on his side of the aisle were pleased to do.

Wartime veteran, writer, speaker, legislator, conservationist, in the tradition of Gifford Pinchot, DICK NEUBERGER was a great American, a great Oregonian, a great Senator, and a great friend.

I speak for all of us in giving to his wife and to his family our heartfelt and unbounded condolences in their and our great loss.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, it was only last night in this Capitol that with an expressed admission of tardiness for not having done so before, I wrote and mailed a note to Maurine and DICK NEUBERGER in Portland, Oreg.

Now, so shortly afterward, it seems almost incredible that we should be rising on the floor of the Senate to note the death of a man whom so many of us admired and with whom some of us had close ties of friendship transcending and being entirely apart from associations formed because of our service of this legislative branch of the Government.

All of us knew that for over a year now Senator NEUBERGER had been walking with uncertain fate as his constant companion. But his convalescence and apparent recovery from his cancer operation led us to hope and to believe that health would be his again after his return to Washington from his home State.

Mr. President, the news last night that Senator NEUBERGER had been stricken by a hemorrhage came with the force of a hammer blow. It was as shattering as it was unexpected.

And now it is all ended. DICK NEUBERGER is gone. Those of us who knew him well shall miss him greatly, and he will be missed greatly even by those with whom his associations were not formed so long ago, or were not so close. Principally, however, Mr. President, the loss is the Nation's. By that I mean that our country was the better for DICK NEUBERGER's having been born here, having lived here, having worked here and having been in a position these last years as a Member of the U.S. Senate to bring vision and accomplishment into focus.

Mr. President, I shall not here attempt to sketch the life of DICK NEUBERGER even in broad outlines. Only this morning I realized that he was a very young man when we first met. That was a quarter of a century or more ago. As so many others were, I was at once attracted by his personality, by his quick and flashing mind, by his very real interest in and knowledge of a wide variety of subjects. There was constant opportunity to compare DICK NEUBERGER the man with DICK NEUBERGER the writer, for even then he was gaining a reputation as one of the most prolific and one of the most readable authors on the American scene. What he wrote was so easy to read, so well put together, that one might gain the false impression that, without any advance preparation on a given subject, DICK NEUBERGER could sit down to a typewriter and dash off an article. This was not so. It is true that he wrote with great ease and speed. But it is also true that much preliminary work went into every article, every book. Many times I have had occasion to note this. At social gatherings, and elsewhere, Senator NEUBERGER would frequently advance ideas for comment and suggestions from others. And the next time one was with him in a different group there might well be repetition in discussing the same subject. Then weeks or months later an article would appear in print with the idea or ideas refined and set forth in fast-moving prose.

Mr. President, it was not my intention to refer especially to DICK NEUBERGER'S ties with Alaska, close as they were. But

since in delivering his tribute the senior Senator from Oregon mentioned Senator NEUBERGER's advocacy of Alaska statehood. I want to say that cause had no more stanch or consistent advocate. Also, it was his leadership which was primarily responsible for bringing Alaska, while still a Territory, within the framework of the Federal-Aid Highway Act in 1956.

Senator NEUBERGER's interest in government came to him early and remained with him always. It was a natural step for him to come to the U.S. Senate from the Oregon Legislature. He arrived in the Senate steeped in the liberal tradition. He never departed from that liberalism. But he was not a blind follower of anyone or any cause. He did his own thinking and acted accordingly.

The personal friendship which grew between DICK NEUBERGER and me was certified during the time he spent at Whitehorse in the Yukon territory as an officer of the Army of the United States in the Northwest Service Command.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER was a Member of the U.S. Senate for just over 5 years. Even in the uncertain world of politics, there is ample reason to believe he would have returned to the Senate for his second term next January. Apart from personal considerations—the kind that must weigh most heavily with us now—it is more than tragic for Oregon and for the United States that he is gone. Great as his contribution already was, it would have been far greater in the future. For he was a young man, just reaching toward the summit of his power, growing, maturing, developing as time went by. And now the book of time for DICK NEUBERGER has been written, printed, read, and closed. It is ended. It is no more. I grieve.

If any consolation at all can be found, it is that DICK NEUBERGER died where his real being always was. He died in the West. He died in his home city of Portland, Oreg.

DICK NEUBERGER often wrote of those adventurers of earlier days who blazed the trails to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. He often wrote of those who followed—who settled the West

to become part of it. But long ago I came to the conclusion that none of these—no one—could have had a greater and more continuing love for the place of his beginning than Senator NEUBERGER. He loved the West. It was a very real part of him. He was dedicated to the proposition that something of the West's matchless beauty should be preserved for those yet to come in this world that constantly becomes more crowded.

So now DICK NEUBERGER is gone. It is perhaps useless in this time of sorrow—and certainly trite—to observe that, although he did not live a full half century as measured by years, yet he lived very fully, and in his life span did more and enjoyed more than many who are on this earth much longer. Yet that observation about him is certainly true.

DICK NEUBERGER was blessed, too, in his latter years by the fact that he had a great lady, his wife, Maurine, to walk with him in time of trial, of defeat, of victory. To her and to the other relatives, my wife, Vide and I, extend our deepest sympathy.

The stars in the western skies will be dimmer this night. A real man has gone.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I think sometimes the measure of a Senator and the measure of a man comes in his devotion to a specific task and a specific responsibility. It was my good fortune to be associated with DICK NEUBERGER on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, as in the case of many other Members of this body. On that committee I watched the way he worked.

Shortly after he came into this assemblage, we had before the committee a bill for the construction of the Hells Canyon Dam. He was an author, a cosponsor of the bill; he was part of the spirit behind the bill.

I watched him during the long hearing, a great deal of which I presided over. He was not an attorney but he was keen and alert, at all times watching to see what he might do to further the cause of a piece of legislation which he regarded as extremely important to his part of the world.

Then we have had many sessions of the Public Lands Subcommittee, to which Senator NEUBERGER had come to sponsor or support individual pieces of legislation. I watched how carefully he presented and how quickly he was willing to withdraw a point if he found that there was something in connection with the legislation which he had not originally anticipated.

I have watched how quickly he would say, "Perhaps we would better examine this further. I would not want it passed until we had a full opportunity to look at every facet of it."

He was on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. I have a very strong interest in what happens to the Indians of this country, and I wondered how his point of view would match in with my own, and with the points of view of many others who were concerned that the fate of the Indians might be resolved in the proper fashion. I must say that I never saw a man preside over a subcommittee with more fairness, with more consideration for those with whom he worked, than did DICK NEUBERGER.

Finally, I know that he had strongly within his system the feeling that we must do something on wilderness matters. We had many, many propositions before us which required settlement. I have observed uniformly how careful he was to try to find out what he might do to advance the bills in which he was greatly interested, but also to find out what he might do to accommodate the views of other Senators in order that the bill, when finally reported, might succeed.

That is a very important test to put to the individual who is sponsoring legislation. I was proud, indeed, to be associated with him on the same committee, because of the fine way in which he handled matters. Many times, Mr. President, I have walked into the cloakroom and have seen him at work on a typewriter, pounding out an article that might, in the course of a few weeks or months, find its way into print.

I realize that he had industry to a high degree, that he was not satisfied to do a full day's work, or even an amplified day's work, but along with it he wanted to keep his hand in the profession that he loved, the business of writing. I think his life has been an inspiration to all who came to know him, an inspiration to realize that a man may have strong convictions but still may have tolerance for the viewpoint of others.

I have profited by my association with him. I shall greatly miss him, as will all the Members of the Senate, I am sure.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate long, but I do wish to join with my colleagues in the Senate, the people of Oregon, and the people of the Nation, in mourning the passing of one of our truly great friends. I liked DICK NEUBERGER very much as a legislator, but, if possible, I liked him even more as a man. He was a sympathetic and friendly man who cared much more about the fate of others than of himself. He was an idealist, Mr. President, at a time when we need idealism very badly.

DICK NEUBERGER was a man of many kinds of courage. Certainly he was a man of great physical courage. More important, he was a man of great intellectual courage. He fought for what he thought was right, regardless of the odds against him and the obstacles to be overcome. He was not afraid to take an unfriendly position. He was a friend of the people, of all of the people. They shall miss him, as shall his family, but not more than we here in the Senate, to whom he was both a friend and a helper.

DICK NEUBERGER and his wife, Maurine, made up a great team for good here in Washington. I extend to her and to the other members of his family my very deep sympathy.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, it is through one's close association with an individual that he comes to learn the true qualities of a man. I had that opportunity with DICK NEUBERGER. He and I were closely associated in the legislative field, and were personal friends for many years. He was a kindly man. He had a sweet character. He was a

man one learned to know, and when we learned to know him, we loved him.

He was also a very courageous man. He never hesitated to stand for his convictions. I want to say today that the Federal workers of this Nation never lost a truer friend and a greater supporter than DICK NEUBERGER.

It was my privilege to serve on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee with him during his entire service in the Senate, one term as chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and following terms as a member of it. I served on the subcommittee that dealt with pay increases and fringe benefits for our Federal employees. I know from experience and personal contact that the Federal worker never had a greater friend and a greater supporter than DICK NEUBERGER.

He was chairman of the subcommittee and spent much time and much hard work on the health insurance program that will go into effect in July of this year. The Federal workers of this Nation are indebted to him for his having given much time and energy at a time when I knew he was not physically strong and physically well.

The U.S. Senate has lost a great Member. I am sure Oregon has lost one of its great Senators. The Nation has suffered a great loss, and personally, I have lost a friend. To Mrs. Neuberger and the family I extend my sincere deepest sympathy.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart that I join with my colleagues in these very sincere and so well deserved tributes to my longtime friend RICHARD NEUBERGER.

It is difficult to believe that he, who, when he was last here, occupied this seat just one seat removed from me, will no longer be there to raise his voice in behalf of the many causes, the good causes, the deserving causes, the enduring causes, which he supported so bravely, so consistently, so persuasively, and yet with so much toleration and understanding of the views of others. Dorothy, my

wife, wept when the tragic news came and I had difficulty in controlling my emotion.

My acquaintance, which ripened into warm friendship, with RICHARD NEUBERGER goes back to before the day he attained the legal voting age. It was in the late summer of 1933 that he dropped into the office of the Nation, a New York weekly magazine, of which I was then one of the editors, to report on what he had seen in his visit to Germany from which he had just returned. Hitler had come to power just a few months before, and there had been little realistic reporting of what had taken place in Germany. In fact, the prevailing comments in the press and magazines of that time indicated that there had perhaps been a welcome change, a new Germany in a better sense.

DICK reported realistically what he had seen after going, with his great intellectual curiosity and his characteristic determination to ascertain the truth, off the beaten path to which tourists had been routed. He realized the horror, the brutality, the ruthlessness of this new totalitarian regime.

I asked him to write of this for the Nation, and he did so. He wrote an article entitled "The New Germany," which was published in the issue of the Nation for October 4, 1933. It was the first realistic firsthand revelation in any American magazine of what was taking place in Nazi Germany. It was an epoch-making article. It was DICK's first literary contribution to any magazine of national circulation. I felt, subsequently, great pride that I was instrumental in introducing him to a career, which, of course, he would have followed anyhow, as a great journalist—perhaps the greatest journalist of our time.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed as follows:

THE NEW GERMANY

(By RICHARD NEUBERGER)

"Visit the New Germany," the American tourist reads in the advertising columns of Paris editions of American newspapers. Embellished with photographs of picturesque scenery and stately

cathedrals, the advertisements strive to persuade the tourist that Hitler's new Germany is virtually identical with the old Germany of charm and Gemütlichkeit. That the advertising often appears in issues which carry front page accounts of Nazi violence has been harmful but, surprisingly, not fatal to the purpose of the costly displays. Despite a falling off in the tourist trade, foreigners return home frequently with tales of the peace and contentment that prevail under the Nazis. They stay at the hotel—in the larger cities and blandly report that "they saw no outrages," and pay tribute to the new spirit engendered by Hitler. Of this type is Mayor James M. Curley of Boston. It is more surprising, however, to find a supposed scholar like Dean Henry Wyman Holmes of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, who returned on September 10, reported by the Associated Press as saying: "I think the reports of Hitler's oppression of the Jews have been exaggerated. Some action may have been necessary"; "it is something Germany needed"; "Germany has regained self-respect." This noted educator, author inter alia of "The Path of Learning," arrived at these conclusions, he admits, in France and "from talking with people on the voyage home" (aboard the German liner *Berlin*), and without visiting Germany.

For a week in Paris I listened to tourists who described Hitler's Germany in rosy colors. On questioning, however, I found that they had visited only the places featured in the advertisements. Not one had strayed to a town off the beaten track. I determined to make a different sort of trip to the new Germany, and visit the hamlets and villages of the Black Forest and the Rhine country, places where Americans are not expected. The officials at the border were courteous. On the main streets of the large tourist centers I too saw no violence. Then I left the tourist highway and headed for a little village in the hills west of the Neckar River. It was 30 kilometers from the railway. Only a twisting automobile road penetrated the hills and forests surrounding it. The inn, at which I was the only guest, was run by an old Catholic woman. She was easily led into conversation and told me how her little business had been ruined by the Nazis. It was not difficult to make a person of her political misfortunes my ally, and I persuaded her to introduce me to other victims in the little community.

In a ramshackle house near the outskirts of the hamlet I met a distraught old woman. Two nights before, a troop of brown-shirted Hitlerites had taken away her two sons, partly because they were Jews, partly because their political affiliations had been with the Social Democrats. "Say goodby to your mother, you may never see her again," ordered the Nazi leader. For 48 hours she

had waited for word of her sons. They were her only kin. She had spent all of a small life insurance policy educating one for law, the other for medicine.

It was not in my power to console this frantic gray-haired widow, but I tried to find some trace of her boys. The search did not last long. The next day the two young men, whose "crimes" had been their race and their belief in a government for the majority of the people, were sent home—in plain board coffins. The Nazis asserted that the boys had died of tuberculosis, though neither had been ill when taken from his home. Their mother was compelled to sign a paper agreeing not to open the coffins; the undertaker and the rabbi had to collaborate in this promise. "Otherwise," admonished the Nazi chief, "we will dispose of the bodies ourselves."

But in that village was a young Jewish doctor, a war veteran, and one of the few undaunted victims of the Hitler persecution whom I met. Despite Hitler's promise to exempt Jewish ex-soldiers from discrimination, the young man's entire practice had been taken from him by the burgomaster, and he had been beaten up at the local "Brown House." But he was unafraid. He said to me: "I'll open those coffins if you will help me to get out of the country." I promised. (Today he is somewhere in France.) That night, by candlelight, he opened the oblong boxes. Every major bone in both bodies was broken. The flesh was terribly lacerated; the boys had suffered horribly before they died.

The next afternoon the young men were buried in the Jewish cemetery. Over their coffins the old rabbi, his beard blowing in the summer breeze, spoke a few words of praise. For the offense of eulogizing the two dead boys, the rabbi was beaten at the local Nazi headquarters, and the local newspaper—a mere bulletin—which printed some of his words was suppressed for 3 months. The mother was sent to a sanitarium by the young physician, her mind clouded by the catastrophe. Thus was I introduced to the "new Germany," the Germany advertised as "less expensive, but otherwise unchanged."

After that I was better prepared for what I saw and heard. I saw new mounds in virtually every Jewish cemetery, marking the resting places of victims of "Nazi tuberculosis." Still hoping they can fool their own citizens and the rest of the world, the Hitlerites camouflage their murders. The victim either "committed suicide," "was shot while trying to escape," or "died from tuberculosis." Announcements are printed in the newspapers accordingly. Always the bereaved families are compelled to promise that they will not open the coffin.

Before I left that little town I met the families of two Jewish girls, both of whom had been smuggled across the border to a

hospital in Switzerland. Their parents spoke in whispers of a night when the Nazis had come for the girls. They had been stripped and beaten and made to dance naked before their tormentors. Under the threat of death to themselves and their families, they had been compelled to accept the advances of their captors. The girls were only 18. In the morning their families found them, bleeding and senseless, in a meadow near the Brown House.

I put that town behind me like a bad dream. But it proved to be not exceptional. From there I went to Neckargemünd, a small community near the Neckar River.[1] I arrived on a Saturday afternoon, the Jewish Sabbath. At the home of the rabbi I found a portion of his small congregation. The hands of the men were swathed in bandages; the women were sobbing and crying. The rabbi told their story. During the services the Nazis had broken into the synagogue. They had thrown the Torah and other implements of the church into the street. The women they had ordered to clean the town hall, with the command, "It's about time you dirty Jews were doing some work." While the Jewish mothers and daughters scrubbed the floors on their hands and knees, the storm troopers stood over them and beat them with whips. The men underwent worse torture. At gun point they were lined up before the synagogue. Red flags, supposedly symbols of communism, were placed in their hands and set afire by the Hitler troopers. The flags burned down to their hands, but the men were not permitted to drop them until their fingers and knuckles were seared. One old man whose trembling hands dropped the burning rags was shot through the shoulder.

I stayed 3 days with those forlorn people. At night they sat in total darkness, trembling lest the Nazis come and inflict further punishment. By day they stayed in their homes, afraid to venture on the streets. Slowly they watched their savings dwindle, knowing the day would come when they would no longer have money to buy food.

Next I went to Heidelberg. Surely, I thought, that citadel of German culture, the site of the famous university, could not be the scene of such brutalities as we had witnessed in the Neckar country. The train was crowded with brown-shirted troopers. The streets were dense with men in uniform. Every building flew the swastika flag. Even on the streetcars Nazi banners fluttered. The occasion was the appearance that night of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg. Britain had given him an icy reception, but he was

[1] In order to protect his informants the author has switched the names of the small towns mentioned in this article.—Editors, the Nation.

a hero in Heidelberg. A vast throng jammed the amphitheater of the historic castle to hear him. Its howls of approval as he denounced democracy and urged purification of the Aryan race echoed along the cliffs below the ancient walls.

The next day I visited the university. The first thing apparent was that Heidelberg had gone "football" in a big way. All incentives to culture, intelligence, and independent thought had been removed. The laboratories, where experiments had enabled Otto Warburg, expelled for being a Jew, to discover the difference between cancer cells and normal epithelial cells, were deserted. But the dueling ring was not. Before Hitler ascended to the chancellorship dueling had been forbidden for several years at Heidelberg. Now it is the rage. Youths with fresh scars on their faces, court-plaster on their cheeks, and swastikas on their arms have replaced the thinkers and scientists to whom Heidelberg owes its reputation.

I also noted the paradox of the one new building at Heidelberg—the Robert Schurman lecture hall. It was built largely through the generosity of American Jews, but Jewish professors may not mount its rostrum. On the bronze plate which lists the donors are the names of such prominent American Jews as William Fox, Julius Rosenwald, Mortimer Schiff, Adolph Zukor, and Samuel Sachs. Also included is the name of William H. Woodin, Secretary of the Treasury. I wanted a photograph of the plate and opened my kodak. Uniformed attendants wearing swastikas came running. "Kein Bild, kein Bild," they cried. I was hustled from the building. A young Nazi with a bayonet at his side and a revolver in his belt forbade my reentrance.

In Heidelberg I talked with many brilliant scholars, most of them non-Jews. They deplored the havoc Hitler has wrought in the university and confided the fear that the once great school was ruined forever as a center of culture. One old man, a Socialist and liberal, raised his voice louder than the rest. For 44 years an instructor, he had been dismissed summarily for his political views. "America must help us," he said. "This is not alone a fight of the Jews. It is the battle of everyone who believes in democracy and freedom. You will do a great service if you carry this message to the liberal and fearless men in your Congress." The old man continued to talk freely on the cause of democracy all the time I was in Heidelberg. When I left there I promised to help him obtain a visa for America. But it was not necessary. Three days later the Nazis invaded the old professor's home at night. In the morning his wife found him at the foot of the stairs, his skull crushed in.

From Heidelberg I turned again to smaller communities. Everywhere I saw evidence of cruelty, violence, and death. At Landau a Catholic merchant and his Jewish secretary, whom he had refused to discharge after 5 years' faithful service, were paraded

through the streets. About the girl's neck was hung a sign, "I have been this man's Jewish prostitute for 5 years." In the same town three Jews and two non-Jewish Socialists were dragged from a cafe in the middle of the afternoon and beaten in an adjacent lot with whips of hose and steel cord. I saw their lacerated and torn backs. At Durkheim an old Jewish butcher from whom my friends occasionally purchased cold meat or sausage paid with his life for his refusal to obey a Nazi command to close his shop. One morning we found the store closed. The old man was in a hospital, bleeding from a score of wounds inflicted by clubs. His case was diagnosed on the chart as the result of a "fall downstairs." Three days later he died.

Hitler and his lieutenants must smile behind their hands when they watch tourists leave Germany with stories of the courtesy and fine manners of Nazi officials. In the August issue of the National Geographic magazine Alicia O'Reardon Overbeck describes Freiburg as one of the most gemütlich cities of Germany because of the friendliness of its people. In Baden Baden we met a score of refugees from this haven of peace and tranquillity. One of the refugees was a lawyer who had dared to say in public that the people should run the government. While he was away on a brief trip to plead a case, Nazis entered his home and sold at auction all his possessions—his law library, his files, valuable art treasures, his furniture. He and his son protested; the latter was fatally wounded and the father had to flee to avoid arrest. He was at Baden Baden under an assumed name and with his appearance disguised. The others who had fled from Freiburg, the most gemütlich of cities because of the friendliness of its people, were Jews, several of them schoolboys burned on the legs and feet. Their Nazi schoolmates had forced them to run through a bonfire of burning books.

It is difficult to comprehend how any tourist with the slightest knowledge of German can return from the Third Reich with praise for the Hitler dictatorship. Hitler's "Mein Kampf," approximately 800 pages of the chancellor's egotism and hatred, is on sale at all bookshops, available to visitors and citizens. Listen to this brief excerpt from its pages:

"If the Jew wins * * * his crown of victory is the death wreath of humanity, and this planet will again, as it did ages ago, float through the ether, bereft of man. * * * While I defend myself against the Jews, I fight for the work of the Lord.

"The black-haired Jewish youth lies for hours in ambush, a devilish joy on his face, for the unsuspected girl whom he pollutes with his blood and steals from her own race. * * * By every means he strives to wreck the racial basis of the nation * * * he deliberately befouls women and girls * * * it was and is the Jew

who brought Negroes to the Rhine, brought them with the * * * intent to destroy the white race * * * by continual bastardization, to hurl it from the * * * heights it has reached * * * he deliberately seeks to lower the race level by corruption of the individual."

It is this book which has filled the vacancies left on the library shelves by the destruction of volumes by Heine, Thomas Mann, Remarque, Feuchtwanger, Einstein, Sinclair, and London. The Chancellor's unrelenting fanaticism is reflected in the cruelty of his followers. Not once in the score of small communities we visited did we see a Nazi show mercy or understanding toward the objects of his hate. Even small children are victims of the brutality. We saw one little Jewish girl come from school with a great welt on her forehead. Between sobs she told her mother that the son of a Nazi had hurled an inkwell at her, and the teacher, a man in S.A. uniform had commended the act.

Horrible as these systematic persecutions are, there is another equally ominous aspect to the new Germany. It is Hitler's obvious intent to lead the country into war sooner or later. He is converting Germany into a fortress bristling with hate and martial fervor. The saber rattles more loudly than under the Hohenzollern. In the parks and public squares one hears military bands and the tread of marching feet. The Nazi troopers are armed with bayonets and revolvers. They have official permission to carry firearms, a privilege denied to those they persecute. The children also are active participants in martial revival. In the foothill districts of Bavaria and Württemberg we saw boys—none of them more than 15 years old—parading in review with wooden spears on their shoulders, and children of six practicing the throwing of hand grenades, crawling on their stomachs as to a trench attack.

Despite the contention of Walter Lippmann or any other erudite authority that Hitler's May peace address was sincere and "the authentic voice of a great people," no one who looks behind the barrier of censorship and deceit in Germany can doubt that one of the major premises of the Nazi movement is intense preparation for a war of aggression. I wish those who were deluded by Hitler's peace speech before the Reichstag could have been with me one afternoon on the train between Frankfort and Munich and overheard a high officer in the Reichswehr talking to a friend:

"Yes, we're fooling the French and Poles all right. We're only supposed to have 100,000 men under arms according to the treaty, but we're training 250,000 new ones every 3 months. At my camp I command a squad of lawyers—the Chancellor now makes all new lawyers enter a training camp. Then we have the S.A. and the S.S. men and the Reichswehr. We'll have 2 million in arms in

another year, besides all the children we're teaching to fight for Germany. Then watch us conquer again."

It is the old story of "Deutschland Ueber Alles" but under worse auspices than before. No ingenious means for inflaming and arousing the people has been overlooked. In cabarets I heard the music of the "new Germany." The masterpieces of Strauss and Wagner have been subordinated to the Nazi marching song and filthy ditties denouncing the Jews. I saw the official Nazi propaganda film, "S. A. Mann Brand." Its appeal was based largely on military enthusiasm. Communists were portrayed as brutes who spent their time shooting down little children or lolling in luxurious apartments with scantily clad women. The villain was a Semitic-looking merchant who discharged his employees for trivial reasons, but was made to atone for his deed when Hitler came into power. But the Nazis—ah, they were pictured as the very flower of German manhood. Sir Launcelot in search of the Holy Grail could have appeared no more noble and courageous than the stalwart Apollos who portrayed Herr Hitler's gentle disciples.

Daily publications fan the fire of hatred and bitterness. In Nürnberg a notorious Jew-baiter named Julius Streicher publishes Der Stürmer, a newspaper devoted entirely to anti-Semitic propaganda. Every Jew who achieves prominence, among them such Americans as Governor Lehman of New York and Samuel Untermyer, is denounced as a murderer and a criminal. Across the bottom of the paper each day is written in black inch-high type: "Die Juden sind unser Unglück" (the Jews are our misfortune). Frequent bulletins from Goebbels' office put more kindling on the funeral pyre of culture and tolerance.

Much else that I saw in the "new Germany" further substantiates the conclusion that those who believe in liberty are finished in Hitler's Reich. Jewish merchants, professional men, and humble workers and their families are facing slow starvation. Jewish children live in an atmosphere they cannot understand, in which they are persecuted by their schoolmates. Jewish families are afraid to venture on the streets; they have no protection, no rights. Jews are barred in many towns from the public swimming pools. Jewish athletes can belong to no sports clubs, which makes the German efforts to retain the 1936 Olympic games in Berlin, on the ground that there will be no discrimination, one more piece of hypocrisy. Socially and economically, as well as politically, the Jews have been ruined. Those who have not suffered physical violence are experiencing mental torture almost as severe.

The fate of those who sponsored the cause of the masses has been equally terrible. Labor union officials, Socialists, and liberals have been murdered and their homes plundered. Under the guise

of saving Germany from the Communists Hitler has crushed ruthlessly all "left" tendencies. He poses as the savior of the laboring man, but the stanchest advocates of workers' rights have suffered most at his hands. Thus we see the "new Germany" as a land in which a racial and religious minority has been sacrificed on the altar of political expediency and intolerance, in which democracy and civil rights have been abolished, from which culture and independent thought have been expelled, which is preparing its children to be cannon fodder on the battlefields of a future war.

But ruthless and relentless as Hitler and his lieutenants are, there is one weapon they fear. The Nazi mayor of a large German city told me his party dreaded economic pressure. At pistol point the storm troopers have forced their victims to deny all stories of atrocities in an attempt to lessen the indignation abroad. They realize a tight international boycott can kill even the monster they have created. A boycott which shuts out German merchandise, reduces the passenger lists of German liners, and keeps tourists out of Germany can soon write an end to the most gruesome chapter of modern history by dethroning Hitler and Hitlerism.

This is not alone the battle of the Jews—I saw intellectuals, liberals, pacifists, Social Democrats, almost as badly off. It is the fight of everyone who believes in personal liberty and civil rights, a fight for the principles on which America was founded. For that reason it is depressing on returning to the free and wholesome air of America to find such a concern as R. H. Macy & Co., chiefly owned and operated by Jews, purchasing merchandise in Germany—because it is cheaper. One of the store's principal owners is Jesse I. Straus, American Ambassador to France, who ardently voiced his belief in democratic ideals in an Independence Day address in Paris. Actions speak louder than words, however. The Strauses might better follow the example of their Christian competitor, Lord & Taylor, which recalled its buyers from Germany shortly after Hitler inaugurated his reign of terror, and regardless of price established the policy of not buying 1 pfennig's worth of Nazi goods.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I think it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that in the long history of the Senate no man who came to it as a journalist was able to write so ably, to get published so widely, and to have his articles appear in the greatest diversity of magazines, those having a large popular circulation, those appealing to a more limited readership, and those which are read by only a very few in fields of high specialization. But in all of his

writings he made a vital and real contribution to the understanding of his subject, and thereby widening the extent of public knowledge.

It is quite impossible for one to rise and extemporaneously pay an adequate tribute to DICK NEUBERGER. A full-length biography needs to be written, and no doubt will be written, of his great and productive career. He had established his career as a great journalist and publicist before he came to the Senate 5 years ago, and his fruitful life is recorded by himself in his many writings, as well by his countless addresses before public gatherings and on the floor of the Senate.

My colleagues have accorded deserved treatment to his great contributions in the field of conservation. He was a great conservationist; but he was also a sane conservationist. He realized that the purpose of conservation is not to conserve wildlife species for themselves or forests for themselves or soil and water for themselves, but for the future benefit and enjoyment of human beings. He was a fervent conservationist, but a practical one.

I remember an article of his entitled "How Much Conservation?" which was published in the Saturday Evening Post, I think, in 1943. In that article he took issue with some of the activities of the late Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who he felt had not truly interpreted the spirit of conservation as DICK conceived it.

All through DICK NEUBERGER's career we find a combination of qualities which are rarely found in one human being, namely, a great fervor for the causes in which he believed, and moral courage in espousing them, even if they were unpopular. He demonstrated great kindliness and tolerance for the differing views of others. Those qualities of dedication to a cause, unflinching determination in its pursuit, yet with kindness, humility, and openmindedness, are not always found in one human being. Yet DICK NEUBERGER had them.

It is, as I have said, impossible to do full credit, in these few minutes of extemporaneous expression, to DICK NEU-

BERGER'S great service. I would inevitably include the great friendliness which he showed on every possible occasion to Alaska. He was up there in the early days of the war, along the Alaska Highway, then under construction, as a member of the Armed Forces. His interest in Alaska was not merely because it was a Territory, disadvantaged because of its political status, but because he felt it was a part of the great West, to the development of which and to the conservation of whose resources he was so devoted. He never missed an opportunity to come to Alaska's aid, when that aid was often sorely needed throughout the years. His is a long list of accomplishments in Alaska's behalf.

It gave me some satisfaction today, and great sorrow at the same time I had to record this event, to wire the speaker of the house of representatives in Alaska, which is now in session, recalling DICK NEUBERGER'S great service to Alaska, and suggesting the advisability of naming a mountain in Alaska, so many of which are unnamed, after him. No monument would be more worthily appropriate to one so dedicated to preserving the beauty and primitive majesty of our America.

I hope at a future time to amplify these remarks. I can only say that we have lost a man who had won the friendship of nearly everyone in this body, who was beloved and admired by almost everyone; whose kindliness, whose breadth of view, whose gentleness, whose great human qualities no one could fail to note.

To DICK'S beloved wife, Maurine, who shared his public as well as his private life to a degree unmatched in political annals, and to whom he unfailingly paid homage for his own successes, goes our deepest sympathy.

We have all suffered a great loss. The State of Oregon has suffered a great loss. The Nation has suffered a great loss.

We shall miss him sorely. The Senate—in which he so devotedly represented not only his own State, but the causes directly concerned with human welfare, the cause of the

aged, the young, the sick, the underprivileged, the victims of discrimination, as well as the preservation of our natural heritage—is the poorer for his departure. But his legacy is enduring and his efforts will bear fruit for the generations to come.

He was independent. He was a man of vision and of great stature. I believe it is truly correct to say of him that he was a statesman; and the Nation and his own State which he served so well and so devotedly are permanently the poorer for his passing. We shall not see his like again.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in mourning the loss of a great public servant, a loyal friend, a warmhearted human being, one who was the friend of all the people of the United States.

DICK NEUBERGER was a man of the highest character. His work in the Senate typifies his greatness, his creativeness, and his usefulness to his fellow men. What has been said so eloquently by our colleagues this morning bears that out.

DICK NEUBERGER was not simply a conservationist. He was a human being. He was extremely desirous of utilizing his very great talents and his great heart to conserve human values, and enoble material values only in order that human values might be more certainly preserved. This I think he showed in the Senate by taking positions which were in accord with his fundamental liberal philosophy. His thirst was after justice, and he followed wherever that path led. He was a just man, and this was really the hallmark of his life.

No one could ever speak about DICK NEUBERGER, his work, his life, and his duty, without speaking about Maurine, who was inseparably connected to him. She is a gracious lady. To use the language of an older day, she is not only gracious, but was good to him, as well as dedicated herself to the same purposes to which he was dedicated. Indeed, I believe that to Maurine could be applied, with the greatest of propriety, the Biblical phrase "loving kindness."

I saw her at very close range in London, at the Atlantic Conference, last year, where she represented DICK with such charm, such feeling, and such ability, that she truly bespoke his views and his mind, so as to impress all who were there and to leave them permanently in her debt.

I think it would be fitting particularly for me, because I believe it represents the hallmark of the common State I shared with DICK NEUBERGER, to read as a part of my remarks, upon the occasion of his very sad passing, at so very young an age, the words from the Old Testament Prophet Micah, in chapter 6:

> Hear ye now what the Lord saith: Arise, contend thou before the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice.

And in the eighth verse of chapter 6:

> He hath shewed thee, I man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

This was RICHARD NEUBERGER.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it was a crushing blow for me to learn this morning of the death of our beloved colleague, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

To his good wife, Maurine, my wife and I extend our deep and abiding sympathy.

We Senators have lost a friend who was ever modest, ever gentle, ever clean, decent, and compassionate.

Oregon has lost a Senator of rare candor, exemplary courage, and genuine conviction.

Our country has lost a leader worthy of her finest days.

The flags are at half-mast in Washington to mourn the passing of a great man.

May God rest his soul.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, our hearts are saddened today by the death of RICHARD NEUBERGER, the junior Senator from Oregon.

His brave fight against cancer and his devotion to duty, even when he was stricken with illness, won the admiration of Congress and the people of the Nation.

But I call attention to the qualities which distinguished him, at least to my mind, since the first day he came to the Senate.

As we know, he was a strong fighter for the interests of his State and the great Northwest country which he represented. His fight for the preservation and conservation of the country's natural resources will be long remembered and will continue to influence the Senate and the Nation.

But we remember also today the profound qualities of his character, for he was a man of character.

He was independent, and did not bow to coercion. He was courageous, and he was just. There was no cant about him. But his concern and his heart were for the individual, and his desire for larger opportunities for the unfortunate and the underprivileged was deep and sincere. He was truly a good and great man.

There is nothing we can say here which can give help to his wife, but all of us who knew her devotion to DICK NEUBERGER believe that she can find solace in the knowledge that she helped him and stood always by his side, and that she contributed to his great achievements and to his noble life.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER was an articulate American who, fortunately for America, in pen and speech—in voice and vote—was sincerely dedicated to the common good. This dedication he translated into practical advocacy of the underprivileged and into defense of the public interest as against the overprivileged.

His insights into the pretenses of politics and his ideals of public service gave RICHARD NEUBERGER the stature of a statesman. The legislation that he promoted and the literature that he created will live long after him as the heritage of the thinking citizen.

We of Rhode Island knew him as a summer visitor when weekends could be spared from our summer-long sessions. Here, in these Senate halls, he was a tireless worker, with a will that rose above all physical weariness and weakness, and with an intellect that lent clarity and vitality to our debates.

The U.S. Senate will miss his presence—humble, genial, generous.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, son and Senator of Oregon, was a great American.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, Richard and Maurine Neuberger have been two of the dearest friends my wife and I have ever had.

We loved DICK very much, and we admired him. He loved the striking places of natural beauty in this country, of which his region contained so many: The majestic mountains, some of them snow clad; the forests; the swift-flowing rivers, and even the tawny deserts. He wanted these preserved in their beauty, for the use of the people of the United States and to protect them from being defiled, debased, or exploited.

But he also had a deep feeling for people, and he was anxious to help the poor, the sick, the old, the weak, and yet in doing so he was scrupulously fair to the strong.

DICK had a basic and fundamental feeling for freedom; for freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of assemblage. He believed in a diffusion of both economic and political power, so that all men may have enough power to be secure, and yet none have so much as to threaten the liberty of others.

DICK had an extraordinarily able and analytical mind. He also had great literary skill and energy; he was certainly one of the most gifted writers of our time. To all this he added great industry and personal kindness.

As I have said DICK had a scrupulous sense of fairness. He was highly ethical in his private and in his public life. He was in fact everything that a man should be, and, to my mind, everything that a Senator should be.

I should like to take the liberty, if I may, of reading into the Record a telegram which my wife and I have sent to his beloved wife, who also is our dear friend:

MARCH 9, 1960.

MRS. RICHARD NEUBERGER,
Portland, Oreg.:

Our love and deepest sympathy are with you. We have lost a beloved friend and the Nation has lost a spokesman for all that is best and needed. In his one term DICK NEUBERGER embodied creative statesmanship in fostering our country's resources, both human and environmental, and was the living embodiment of a sensitive and courageous ethical conscience. His services will endure and you who have been his true helpmate and inspiration will realize some of his projects for him.

PAUL and EMILY DOUGLAS.

Mr. KEATING. The entire Nation has indeed suffered a grievous and irreparable loss in the death of DICK NEUBERGER. This sense of loss is the more deeply felt by those of us who were privileged to know him, to work with him, to enjoy the warmth of his friendship, in the Senate of the United States. DICK NEUBERGER'S life could not be called wholly his own, because he gave much of it away in his selfless dedication to the causes and the purposes in which he believed. He gave it, too, unstintingly, and despite the heavy cross of illness that he bore, to the people of his beloved State of Oregon, who have suffered this sudden loss of so able and admirable a public servant. We who were favored to live in the happy circle of DICK NEUBERGER'S friendship will forever keep his face and his memory fresh in our hearts. We walked with him in the sunlight of his distinguished career, we sympathized with him in the shadow of an illness that conquered his body but never his spirit. In this hour of supreme tragedy for his bereaved wife and family, we bow our heads with them and pray that their burden of sorrow may be lightened by the knowledge that it is shared so deeply, so fully, by every Member of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, it is difficult to add to what has been said so well and so eloquently here on the floor this morning in tribute to the memory and life of DICK NEUBERGER.

It was my privilege to serve with him for a time in the Senate Committee on Public Works. There he speedily demonstrated that his devotion to the cause of conservation was something more than a nominal one.

In every matter that came up, he endeavored to express a deep conviction that in conserving the natural resources of this country, we were making a contribution to the country forever.

The three words which would describe him to me and to us forever would be "character, courage, and courtesy."

His idealism was expressed in his character, or perhaps his ideals were the result of his character. His courage frequently was demonstrated when he would speak for causes or for propositions which might not have been entirely popular with the audience to which he expressed his views.

DICK NEUBERGER was unfailingly courteous. He treated others as he would have them treat him.

I feel that DICK NEUBERGER understood that governments are instituted for certain purposes—to achieve and to bring about better life, more liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. DICK NEUBERGER'S life was a living dedication to the furtherance of those principles and those purposes of government.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, my contacts with Senator NEUBERGER were very limited; they covered a span of 3 years, and were comprehended by the association I had with him in the Senate.

However, I had numerous opportunities to observe his great qualities, particularly his ability, his honesty, his courage, and his industry. In recognizing those qualities of his, I began to weigh the source of his great attributes.

I heard him argue in the cause of conservation. Finally, I concluded that the preeminent qualities which he possessed came primarily from his love for the mountains, the valleys, the streams, the grasses, the shrubs, and the trees. He saw in them an immutable and eternal truth. He saw in them a mighty power. My belief is that in the power which he beheld there, he recognized that there is a mighty Power

which rules all things. It was for that reason, I believe, that he espoused the cause of conservation, and did so probably with greater industry and greater energy than did any other Member of the Senate.

My belief is that he had a great fear that, instead of being a land covered with shrubs, trees, and grasses, our land would be covered by concrete; that instead of beholding forests of trees, future generations might behold forests of smokestacks. Above all things, DICK NEUBERGER aimed to bequeath to posterity a bit of the primitive beauty that is our legacy from those who have preceded us.

His love for nature made him an undeviating disciple of the truth. The ruggedness of nature which he beheld in the rocks, and even in the desert, caused him to vow to be courageous on the Senate floor. He was gifted with an intellect that commanded our admiration, and he also had the possession of a great industry.

Today, his voice is stilled; the seat he occupied is empty. It will be most difficult to replace his voice; and the void now in the Senate will be extremely difficult to fill.

So, Mr. President, I rise, with my colleagues, on this Senate floor to express my sincere condolences to his family and to express my deep regret that our country has on this day suffered the loss of a great man.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, when the news came this morning that DICK NEUBERGER had died, it seemed incredible; it was hard to believe that one so young and one so valuable to his country should be taken from us.

DICK NEUBERGER was my idea of a statesman. His personal honesty, his loyalty to his fellow beings and to his country, his understanding of good government, and his implicit belief in people marked him as one of the real statesmen of all time. I would not say that he was partisan in character; and in my book, that is always the mark of a statesman—his country always came first.

DICK NEUBERGER believed implicity in good government, and he lent character to this Senate body.

He will be particularly missed by all those who love the natural resources of this country—the wildlife, the pure water, the good, deep soil, the trees growing tall. In this respect, I do not know how his place can be filled.

I do know that not only the Members of the Senate but the entire country will miss DICK NEUBERGER; and I do know, too, that the sympathy and the heartfelt grief of all of us go out to Maurine Neuberger, who shared his character, who shared his work, and who shared the respect we had for DICK.

It is hard to find fitting words to express our feelings at a time like this, Mr. President. I am sure that Maurine will understand how we feel, even though we are unable to find the proper words to express our deep sense of grief over the loss of this truly great man.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I was shocked to hear of the death of our colleague and my friend, Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

Senator NEUBERGER and I came to the Senate the same year. I had the pleasure of serving on one committee—the Committee on Public Works—with him, and had the opportunity to observe his work there. I learned of his great interest in the outdoors and his distinct appreciation of nature. I learned to admire him for his qualities as a man, for he was a man of ability and integrity, and he was kind and industrious.

If there were two qualities about him which possibly were outstanding in his services as a U.S. Senator and as a public servant, perhaps they were his deep interest in the national resources of the Nation and his services to the underprivileged. He was truly a friend of the underdog, so to speak.

DICK NEUBERGER was a human sort of fellow. He was a man that you felt you could become close to, and in whom you could place your trust and your confidence.

I deeply regret his death. I wish to extend my deepest sympathy to his gracious and devoted wife. I am sure that all of us will long miss him very greatly here in this body.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I stand in the shadow of the passing of RICHARD NEUBERGER. He was my seatmate; and today I remember the personal confidences we shared, and I recall the official privilege I had of serving by his side.

He was a man of brilliant mind and of gentle spirit.

Mr. President, sometimes it is appropriate to turn to poetry; and I believe these words could well be said of him:

> In "pastures green"? Not always; for sometimes He
> Who knoweth best, in kindness leadeth me
> In weary ways, where heavy shadows be.
> And by "still waters"? No, not always so;
> Ofttimes the heavy tempests' round me blow,
> And o'er my soul the waves and billows go.
> But when the storms beat loudest, and I cry
> Aloud for help, the Master standeth by,
> And whispers to my soul, "Lo, it is I!"
> So, where He leads me, I can safely go;
> And in the blest hereafter, I shall know
> Why, in His wisdom, He hath led me so.

Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER worked as if he were to live forever. And—bless his memory—he lived as if he were to die tomorrow.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our late departed friend, RICHARD NEUBERGER. I use the word "friend" advisedly, because in the last 6 years I feel that he has become my friend, and a friend of whom I have been very proud. I had an unusual respect for Senator NEUBERGER. I regarded him as something of an intellectual giant. He had a highly disciplined mind, and mentally addressed himself to our problems in a very orderly way. He expressed himself exceedingly well in connection with the problems of the Senate and the problems of our day politically.

I believe that his writings on current issues, on politics, and about the Senate, have been outstanding contributions to American literature since he has been a Member of the U.S. Senate, but his charm for me was not entirely intellectual by any means. I sensed in him a man of warm spirit; a "gentleman's gentleman," indeed, he was at all

times. He was always reasonable. He was always willing to discuss the pros and cons of any issue in a reasonable way and in good spirit. He was never an extremist, so far as I could see, but always patient and considerate of others when we were working on problems together.

I had some experience with him in his first 2 years here when we were both members of the Senate Public Works Committee, and at that time we had before us some very controversial legislation. I always admired Senator NEUBERGER'S tolerance and his approach to solutions of our problems.

So I join with my colleagues in assuring Mrs. Neuberger of the warm sympathy of Mrs. Bush and myself, and our full understanding of her feelings at this most difficult time.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, this morning the country lost one of its most dedicated champions of human rights in the untimely passing of our beloved colleague DICK NEUBERGER. DICK NEUBERGER was not only my personal friend, he was my neighbor. He was well known in California, and especially in northern California, and particularly in the bay area, at the University of California, and other of the educational institutions of northern California, which he often visited, and where he frequently appeared at speaking engagements. I am sure that the profound shock I feel in his sudden passing is shared by thousands and thousands of his close friends and admirers in our State.

The impact of DICK NEUBERGER'S death among his colleagues in the Senate will be felt for a long time. We will miss him in every fight we make to improve the health of our people. Particularly in recent months his inspiring recovery from the dread disease which first assaulted him has been a beacon light to thousands of people who faced the same calamity, and his courage and his strength in the face of it, his intelligence and his careful and objective evaluation of what can be done to help cancer victims will long be an inspiration and a help to those who face the same tragedy and the same problem.

We will miss him in every fight we make to hold the line against discrimination and bigotry. We will miss him in every attempt to keep private business interests from usurping the natural resources of the country. There is no area, as has been stated here today, where his views were more strongly known or more intelligently and eloquently advocated throughout the country than in the field of the conservation of the natural resources of this great Nation.

He was truly a man of the outdoors. He loved the outdoors, and he loved to do those things that would develop and promote the development of the intelligent conservation of the natural resources of this Nation.

In short, we will miss his relentless and selfless dedication to help the aged, the sick, the needy, and the oppressed, as he will be missed by those who knew him to be a great and sincere conservationist.

The loss, of course, will be a more personal one to some of us. We will miss his warmth, his humanity, and his friendly smile.

Mr. President, I wish to extend my deepest sympathy to his devoted wife, Maurine, and to his whole family.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, our late friend and colleague, Senator NEUBERGER, came to the Senate with one strike on him, in a measure, because he succeeded a very popular and a very able and worthy Member of this great body, Senator Cordon, of Oregon. Senator NEUBERGER was a stranger to me at that time.

He also came here as branded by a small segment, at least, in some editorials or press items that listed him as being somewhat irresponsible. They could not possibly have been more mistaken. I found him to possess many elements of greatness. I want to mention first his kindness, and next he was a great fighter. That is a rather rare combination, Mr. President. But he himself had those qualities to a very high degree.

I have said more than once on this floor that I thought various organizations, pressure groups, economic associa-

tions, and various other enterprises were gradually changing our form of government, and discounting Senators' judgments here, pressing them into positions they would rather not take. I never saw any evidence that this man was ever so affected. He believed in what he stood for, and he voted for what he believed in.

Mr. President, Senator NEUBERGER brought great character to this body, in my opinion, and he is going to take great character with him to his grave, because public life did not cause him to lose it.

I do not know of any more trying test that a man can go through than service in public life. In that respect, he has come through with a great, high, and creditable score.

I want to remember Senator NEUBERGER as the greater conservationist he was. I remember his very earnest plea here for the Hells Canyon Dam. I remember his talk with me about it, his great love for the outdoors, and his strong belief in the conservation of our natural resources.

I should like to associate myself with another great conservationist in this body, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken], in his tribute to this man from the West.

Mr. President, I close as I started, with emphasis on Senator NEUBERGER'S kindness and his great fighting qualities. He had true virtues of character, and he utilized them all the way.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of RICHARD NEUBERGER and to express my condolences to his wife and his family.

DICK NEUBERGER was known as a liberal. He carried that title in the face of some criticism which was irresponsible and undeserved, but he demonstrated in his life the characteristics of a true liberal.

DICK NEUBERGER, in the face of great physical suffering and in the face of criticism and opposition, was found to have a genuine optimism. His brand of optimism was not the kind which accepts necessarily that everything is getting

better and better, but was the kind of optimism which is based on an understanding of realities, of history, and which, in the face of those realities, remains somewhat hopeful and confident that mankind can, in common effort, move ahead in the way of justice and move ahead in the way of approaching something in the nature of a sound social, economic, and political order.

RICHARD NEUBERGER was a progressive, but he was not the kind of progressive who accepted change for the sake of change. He was not the kind who held that there was nothing good in the past, but one who, understanding the past, attempted to build upon it, who, knowing the past, attempted to meet the needs of the present and attempted to anticipate the problems of the future. This is the mark of genuine progressiveness.

Mr. President, RICHARD NEUBERGER bore a third mark which I think is essential to the mark of a true liberal, that of tolerance. Members of this body know that he was not one to say that one man's opinion is as good as that of another, but he understood that there might be differences among men, and in the face of those differences, he remained understanding.

His criticism was always restrained and always within bounds. His was a genuine tolerance which was based on understanding that men and human institutions have failures, but which reflected, at the same time, an acceptance and understanding of the basic dignity of all persons.

Mr. President, this body has been well served by RICHARD NEUBERGER, as has this country, and the Senate does well today to pay tribute to him in the manner in which it has been done.

Mr. MCNAMARA. Mr. President, we are all saddened by the great loss of our colleague RICHARD NEUBERGER.

As one who knew him very well, as one whose life was enriched by knowing DICK NEUBERGER, having come to the U.S. Senate at the same time that he did, we sat over in that far corner of the Chamber, DICK in the last seat, I in

the next one, and Alben Barkley on my right, when we were freshmen together. Both of these distinguished Americans, Alben Barkley and RICHARD NEUBERGER, have now passed on to their eternal reward.

Much has been said about DICK NEUBERGER and his contribution to public service generally. Almost nothing could be added to the fine tributes which have been paid to his memory here today.

Many Senators have remarked about DICK NEUBERGER'S interest in conservation. He certainly had a great interest in conservation and a great love for the outdoors; but his real interest, Mr. President, was in people. He demonstrated over and over again that he was a pro-people public servant. I do not think anything greater can be said about any American than just that.

Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER'S place will not easily be filled in this Chamber. Truly we are saddened, and we express great sympathy to his family and to his devoted wife in this hour of great sorrow.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart that I utter these few words of tribute today to the memory of DICK NEUBERGER, a beloved colleague, whose gallant fight for life ended early today.

It is difficult to realize that the Senate has been deprived of this warm and friendly man. His constant goal in life was almost entirely to enrich the lot of his fellow Americans. He was endowed with a generous heart and an unflagging zeal. He was proud to be described as a fighting liberal.

Mr. President, I too came into the Senate at the same time as DICK NEUBERGER. During these past 5 years I came to know him well, not only as a cooperative colleague from my native West, but as a warm, a true, and a devoted friend.

His courageous fight against the ravages of cancer gave renewed hope to thousands of others similarly afflicted.

On his return to the Senate from his own illness, he immediately alined himself with spearheading a frontal attack on cancer and other diseases which beset our citizens.

Coupling his stature as a U.S. Senator with his facile pen, he was prodigious in the all-out attack against these man-killers. I am certain, Mr. President, that his efforts will bring bountiful returns as the fight against disease continues under men who were inspired by his courage and by his determination.

DICK NEUBERGER bequeathed a legacy of hope for a stronger, a happier, a healthier America to which he dedicated his energies and his life. DICK often said that whatever success he may have achieved would have been impossible and pointless without the true teamwork provided by his wife, Maurine, a working partner in a wonderful and exhilarating relationship. Maurine richly deserves the credit her husband gave her. To her in this time of profound sorrow, I wish to express my heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, we were all deeply grieved this morning to learn of the death of DICK NEUBERGER. I suppose those of us who heard the late broadcast last night telling of his having had a stroke had been put on notice. There have been many fine expressions here regarding Senator NEUBERGER, his life, his interests, his accomplishments. I could do nothing more than duplicate many of the statements that have been made.

I never knew DICK NEUBERGER until he came to the Senate a little more than 5 years ago, although I had had the pleasure of reading many of his writings. When I learned that he was running for the Senate, I became greatly interested, because I felt an interest in him as a result of having read his writings. I enjoyed service with him here. I endorse all of the fine things that have been said about him. How true they are.

He was a man of patience, tolerance, conviction, and of tenacity.

Mr. President, DICK has gone from among us; yet I like to think of the richness of the life he lived during the relatively short time he was a Member of the Senate. He died a young man.

I recall, and I have often thought of this, that back in my schooldays, when I was studying Latin, I learned that there was no expression in Latin for "He has died." Instead, the Romans said "He has lived." I like to think of that statement in connection with DICK NEUBERGER, because he did live a full life, a life that embodied all of these various activities that have been detailed here this morning, and which I shall not again recount. I feel better for having known him. My sympathy and that of Mrs. Sparkman goes to Maurine, his beloved wife and, indeed, his full partner in this rich life that he lived. As has been truly said, his place will be hard to fill.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, Members of the U.S. Senate are notably individualistic. The reason for this is not difficult to find. When men rise by their own efforts and talents from positions of obscurity, through various stages, generally of public service, reaching membership in this, the greatest legislative body upon earth, they both have and develop characteristics peculiar to themselves, characteristics which endear them to their associates and friends.

When Senator NEUBERGER arrived in this Chamber as a freshman Member, he and I became deskmates on the back row. For 4 years we sat together, and I enjoyed the confidence and friendship of this distinguished man. Being a confidant, during the course of sometimes long and weary sessions, we exchanged friendly, frank, low-voiced asides, remarks on issues and tactics, on human frailties and nobility. In this way, I came to know this man in a very personal way. He, too, was individualistic, but in a quite different way. His career had not followed the usual pattern, if there is a usual pattern, and in other respects he was unusual. His outlook on life was one of gentleness. His attitude toward his fellow man, his fellow Senators, was one of tolerance and kindness. This extended equally to the page boys.

His devotion to the public interest was genuine—but more particularly with people, as the senior Senator from Michi-

gan has said. With this kindness, with this gentleness, his personality coupled a brilliant intellect and skill in expression. He was a facile writer, an eloquent spokesman, and, with all, a noble man. He has served well. His has been a life of usefulness in public service.

With his devoted wife, Maurine, to members of his family, and to his legion of friends, I share in the deep sense of loss at his passing, and extend sympathy.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, what has been said here this morning by my colleagues with respect to the gifts and accomplishments of RICHARD NEUBERGER is true.

I want first of all to extend to Maurine, for my wife and myself, our deepest sympathy and condolence in this hour of sorrow.

What I have to say is not about the accomplishments of RICHARD NEUBERGER in the political field, in the economic field, or in the field of writing, but, rather, to the accomplishments of RICHARD NEUBERGER with RICHARD NEUBERGER.

I know of no greater sin, Mr. President, than the failure or refusal of an individual to take advantage of all the gifts with which God endows him. These may be physical gifts. They may consist of combinations of physical gifts and mental gifts, or cultural gifts. But it surely is one of the great sins if any man does not take advantage of these gifts.

I think probably, to my mind, the greatest thing I could say about RICHARD NEUBERGER would be that he did take advantage of the gifts with which his Creator endowed him, and through his own great self-discipline—he utilized them to the maximum to which they could be utilized.

He did discipline himself; and he humbly looked at himself, perhaps thousands and thousands of times in his life, to determine whether he was fulfilling his own private contract with the Divine Creator to do the best he could with the abilities he had; and we are all agreed that he did.

Mr. President, when it became known that DICK NEUBERGER had cancer, and when he made it known, I wrote him a

letter; and in that letter I included a passage from the prophet Isaiah. When he returned to the Senate, DICK told me that the passage had been a source of great consolation to him, a source of solace, and that with his mind dwelling upon the words of the prophet, he had been able to help sustain the faith which he already had, but which probably under those circumstances would always need reinforcement.

So my private bond with DICK NEUBERGER will be a word from the prophet Isaiah, in which the prophet said:

Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee; because he trusteth in Thee.

So let it be with DICK NEUBERGER.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, Mrs. Ervin and I sorrow with Mrs. Neuberger in the irreparable loss which has befallen her and the Senate and the country. In the passing of our colleague and friend, DICK NEUBERGER, we encounter again the oft recurring experience which is best described in those words of an ancient poet of Persia:

For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his vintage rolling time hath prest,
Have drunk their cup, a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mrs. Yarborough and I are shocked, with our colleagues and their wives, at the tragic loss of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. It is difficult to realize, when we consider his record, that DICK NEUBERGER had served in the Senate only 5 years, but that already his name and real achievements are more widely known throughout the country than those of most Senators ever will be. He attained greater stature and achieved greater accomplishments than most Senators are destined to achieve in a period of service far longer. This was due to his articulate expression and facile pen, which were well known to the country.

My friendship with DICK NEUBERGER began on the day I came to the Senate 3 years ago. On the Committee on

Post Office and Civil Service, I sat next to him. When I first came to the Senate, hearings were being held on the postal pay increase and postal rate increase bills. I have never known any other Member of this body who knew as much about publications and their different categories, including those for the dissemination of news, than DICK NEUBERGER. I think he was the best versed among us in the magazine field, including magazines for public subscription, for private subscription, and for giveaway. He contributed to the Senate a vast body of knowledge, not merely in the category of publishing, but also in writing, he himself being successful in his profession as a writer. But that was the smallest of his contributions.

The greatest of his contributions was for the benefit of the health and welfare of the employees of the Federal Government and, through them, for the benefit of the people of the country as a whole. Senator NEUBERGER was the leader on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in sponsoring measures which would give to the classified employees and the postal workers a living wage scale. We were only partially successful in our endeavor, but Senator NEUBERGER was in the forefront in introducing similar bills having the same objective in mind.

He was a leader and protagonist in the introduction of the health insurance bill, which has since become law and will take effect in July of this year. Under this law, more than a million and a half Federal employees will have the benefit of public health and hospitalization insurance. Eighty-nine million Americans have the benefit of such insurance today, including the employees of State and city governments, but it had not been available to the officers and employees of the great Federal Government under government auspices until DICK NEUBERGER, by his leadership and help, steered such legislation through the committee, the Senate, and Congress.

Mr. President, the accomplishments of DICK NEUBERGER have been dwelt upon and dealt with more ably by those who have known him and served with him longer in the Senate

than I. But having sat next to him in the committee, and having had the benefit of seeing that brilliant mind at work, I have a special tribute in my heart for what he felt and what he saw and for his ability of execution. He not only wanted to see these things done; he was able to get them accomplished. His interest encompassed the whole range of human activity of man's environment upon earth.

He worked for the passage of well-known bills. One matter closest to his heart, next to his concern for medical research in cancer, and the other killer diseases and crippling diseases, was the improvement of the physical environment in which man lives. He sponsored legislation to create the Oregon Dunes National Seashore, and, together with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Humphrey], sponsored the wilderness bill. He was interested in many measures which were designed to help improve the natural habitat of man, so as to make this world a good place for people to live.

RICHARD NEUBERGER was a cosponsor of legislation concerned with the elimination of pollution from the streams. He realized what the virgin wilderness had meant to the men who discovered and first lived on this continent, and to those who followed them.

He worked diligently and gave of himself, and now he has passed away at a youthful age, after spending only 5 years in the Senate. He put much of his brain, energy, soul, spirit, and body into the bills in which he believed. It seems to me that he was trying to understand, perhaps, that destiny had foretold for him a short life, because he tried to encompass in a few years the work of a lifetime, in order to help to develop a better environment for man, and to improve the natural resources, such as rivers and forests.

He was interested in the welfare of youth, through the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps. He helped in the fight to overcome delinquency problems in the cities, as well as for the development of our national forests and our recreation areas.

Senator NEUBERGER had the broadest grasp of the problems of men, through youth, middle age, and old age, of any Member of this body.

The Senate has suffered a great and irreparable loss in his untimely passing.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, RICHARD NEUBERGER was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1954 in a startling political upset. In his campaign that year he showed those qualities of energy, intelligence, and ability to debate which he evidenced to such an extraordinary degree after he came to the Senate.

It was my misfortune not to know DICK NEUBERGER before I came to the Senate, in January of 1957. During the brief intervening years, I came to count on him as a warm and close friend. During that period, my wife and I came to have a feeling of deep friendship for Mrs. Neuberger as well as for DICK. His passing is a real and personal loss to both of us.

I know no finer tribute could be paid to him than to state what seems so clear to me, that here was a man of decisive mind, of keen intelligence, of almost inexhaustible energy, who, nonetheless, loved his neighbor as himself.

I have lost a friend, as have many others in the Senate. The country has lost a great public servant.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I had never had the privilege of seeing or knowing Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER until the day when he took his oath as a Senator of the United States. From some of the things I had heard about him, I am frank to say that I was somewhat predisposed against him.

As I served with the Senator here, I was tremendously impressed with the fact that he possessed to a high degree those traits of character which I think are of great importance to anyone in public service and that are all too often lacking in those who occupy high political office.

Mr. President, no honest man could live long with Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER without being completely impressed with his sincerity of purpose and his political courage. We often voted against each other, because there was a great deal of difference in our basic political philosophy. But I came to respect and to admire this man, whose passing we mourn here today.

Mr. President, in the years that I have been privileged to serve as a Member of this body, I have been associated with several hundred men who bore the title of Senator of the United States. I have seen a great many who professed to be liberals; I have seen those who admitted their conservatism, and others who did not care how they were labeled. But I consider, Mr. President, that Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER was a true liberal. There was nothing synthetic, there was nothing spurious, about his liberalism. He did not feel that it was necessary for him to make a flaming speech on the floor of the Senate every few days to impress himself or to impress any groups that may have contributed to his election. He pursued the even tenor of his ways.

It was refreshing to see a man who was a genuine liberal, and a Senator who was without the slightest trace of demagoguery.

This was a tolerant man, Mr. President. He was a liberal who actually admitted that he might not know everything about the issues before the Senate; and he was a liberal who could confess that there might be some validity to the position that was taken by those who opposed him in legislation.

I came to admire him greatly. He was a gentle and a kindly soul. He was incapable of hate. This man loved all of God's creatures and all of God's creation. But, with it all, Mr. President, he had the courage, in things political, of a lion.

I have seen him here on this floor when he was advocating increasing greatly the compensation of those who work in the Postal Department; but, by the side of that bill, he had

one to increase the revenues of the postal service by increasing its rates, in order to take care of that increased pay.

Mr. President, he was one who espoused vast spending on the highway system of the United States. But no man could have fought more stoutly than did he to levy taxes. It is going a great way, in this day and era, for a man who is advocating expenditures to advocate taxes, along with them. He advocated taxes to meet the increased costs.

Mr. President, men of this type are rare.

He did not undertake to deceive himself; and he was incapable of attempting to deceive others.

I shall miss those characteristics here in the Senate of the United States.

I, too, wish to convey to his wife and to all the other members of his family my expressions of profound regret and profound respect for the departed Senator.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying a well-deserved tribute to Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, who departed this life a few hours ago.

I wish to associate myself particularly with the remarks of the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell].

I served on committee with Senator NEUBERGER. We often differed; but one always understood exactly where he stood, and one could never question the sincerity of his stand.

He never resorted to the expedient.

I wish to join my colleagues in expressing to his wife, who has been his partner in his political endeavors, as well as in all his other endeavors, the deepest sympathy.

I shall miss RICHARD NEUBERGER and his fine qualities here on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, the death of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER has taken from me one of the best friends I ever had. In the nearly 20 years that I have served in Congress, no other Member of Congress extended more friendship to me than did DICK NEUBERGER. He and his wonderful wife,

Maurine, were without question the most constant congressional bestowers of praise upon me.

In fact, they were so generous in their public statements of commendation of me that they told me that once Maine Democratic leaders went to them and complained and asked them to please refrain from any further public statements praising me.

Such nonpartisan courtesy and friendship these days is indeed rare. It is neither easy nor wise politically to express support of a member of the opposite political party. But DICK NEUBERGER, loyal Democrat that he was, did that for me, a Republican, at every chance and opportunity that he had.

That in itself is enough to make me mourn deeply over the untimely passing of DICK NEUBERGER. But there is something far more important that makes me mourn all the more deeply his passing. What I refer to is his gentle and tolerant attitude. It was, indeed, most rare. It was something all of us need so desperately in greater measure than we now possess.

And there was a quality of simple magnificence in the gentle and tolerant attitude of DICK NEUBERGER. He, himself, acknowledged that he did not have that gentle tolerance until after he had won his battle against cancer.

One of the finest articles I ever read was his article in the July 1959 issue of the magazine Think. It was a truly moving and inspiring message, which I would hope every Member of this body has read.

If DICK NEUBERGER were here today, I am sure that nothing would please him more than to have every Member of this body read that article. Because of that, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed as follows:

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

Thoughts on a Brush With Death

(By Richard L. Neuberger[1])

During the first month of anxiety and tension after surgery, I would awaken with pounding heart and choking breath in the still hours of the night watch. Were the doctors telling me the truth that my cancer really was curable by radiation? Their steadfast assurances, so heartening the bright hours of daylight, seemed to fade into remote unreality when darkness mantled our bedroom and medical counsel was as distant as the far-off dawn. After all, I would not be the first cancer patient to whom merciful lies had been told.

In those interminable nighttime ordeals, I hesitated to arouse my wife. She had enough to do in stabilizing me between sunrise and going to bed. Yet our cat, Muffet, somehow sensed that something was wrong. From his customary bivouac at the foot of the bed, he would march up the counterpane until his face was next to mine. In the stygian gloom, his white collar gleamed like phosphorous. As his purring rose to a deep rumble, Muffet snuggled next to me and I would find the furry head with trembling fingers. There we would lie for hours—man who feared he was soon to die, and animal which knew, perhaps intuitively, that he was needed.

A small thing to be encouraged and comforted by, you may say—and you would be right. Yet Muffet's nocturnal companionship helped to preserve my composure and rationality in that trying and difficult period, before the searching cobalt 60 beams began to destroy the metastases which had spread in few but potentially lethal numbers to my lungs.

When a person is terrified over the possible imminence of death, small things can become of vast importance—a doctor's inflections, the slightest twinge of pain anywhere, even the solace of a cat's presence. And when a reprieve has wondorously been given because one's cancer proves to be of a cell-type susceptible to destruction by tolerable doses of radiation, these commonplace events assume a rich, new significance. All at once, ex-

[1] Richard L. Neuberger, 46, is the junior U.S. Senator from Oregon and a native son of that State. In August of 1958 he underwent surgery for cancer. Because of early detection and the cell type of his malignancy, his doctors feel hopeful and optimistic regarding his recovery.

periences formerly taken for granted become a source of quiet and continuing pleasure. And, to cite the obvious, I am more concerned over the relatively small sums which we invest in medical research generally and in cancer research in particular than in a good many of the causes which originally sent me to the United States Senate in the first place. This is especially so when I remember that 50 million of my fellow Americans will have cancer.

I am quite a different individual now than when I was told in August of 1958 that I had cancer. I know I shall never be the same again. Then, death loomed at my elbow, a constant specter. I wondered how long I had left? Would I be remembered? Would my wife marry again? Who would take care of Muffet? Gradually, over many weeks, my forbearing and devoted doctors persuaded me to believe that this particular tumor could be cured by the miracle of high-voltage radiation, aided with one of the new chemotherapeutic agents known as actinomysin-D.

Today I am 23 pounds heavier than at the time of my surgery. I have just undergone an intensive medical checkup, which the doctors regard as corroborating their confidence in my recovery. How does one feel under such dramatic circumstances? I would say that a dominant result has been to make me profoundly appreciative of what was formerly mere routine, and to place in true perspective a whole series of essentially trivial happenings which previously had the power to distress or trouble me.

Driving our 1954 sedan through the wooded park, "raiding" the refrigerator for a peanut butter sandwich and glass of milk, kissing my wife goodby in the mornings, seeing the prismatic display of a summer sunset, reading a book that holds my fascination, a quiet conversation with intimate friends, strolling beside the Potomac or the Willamette—mundane and prosaic events, to be sure, but not to a man who felt certain a year earlier he was going to die. Now each such experience is savored to the full. I even revel in the tingle of shaving lotion on my face or in feeling the cool rustle of a clean, white shirt. Life is the sum total of many conventional experiences. But does a person truly appreciate life until he finally realizes, with stark and brutal awareness, that sometime he must die?

Conversely, I crimson now with shame when I recall how idle gossip and intrigue once disturbed me, how I became indignant when press releases from my office failed to reach the headlines, how superficial political criticism could prick my vanity. Could anything be less important than this? Recently, in the Senate dining room, I watched a famous Senator and his wife pout publicly because their regular table was occupied by some visitors

from the Interior Department. At length, the harassed maitre d'hotel had to move the newcomers. Restored to their customary habitat, the senatorial pair were properly triumphant. I could only observe them with pity. Yet I wondered incredulously if I ever was like that, before cancer taught me the ephemeral nature of seating arrangements and similar minutiae.

I think often of what might have been my fate if only one of many occurrences had turned out differently—if I had not gone to our family doctor for a sore in my mouth which proved to be innocent, if he had not casually suggested that I get on the examining table, if his diagnostic skill had been less or his vigilance not so great, if the tumor had been a type resistant to radiation rather than sensitive to its mysterious beams, if the radiologist had not detected on the X-ray films several tiny lesions which some had thought to be only "artifacts."

Let any one of these circumstances have developed differently, and my headstone might have been carved long ago. To a man who has been through such an ordeal, whether he speaks first or last at a banquet becomes an amazingly unimportant matter. My pulse never flutters now over things which once greatly annoyed me. Despite the strain of my illness, the staff in my Senate offices mentions frequently how much more relaxed I am since it happened. When some of them ask about it, I have a stock reply: "I guess I have perspective on things, at last."

When I spoke at the annual Lasker Medical Awards luncheon in New York City this past spring, I introduced my wife Maurine as "my psychiatrist." This was not done to elicit an appreciative chuckle from the crowd assembled in the ballroom at the Sheraton East. A patient struggling with the psychological difficulties imposed by a disease like cancer requires much assistance from the individual closest to him, be that person wife or parent or nurse. Maurine always has told me the truth, so when she relayed on what the doctors had said to her, I had implicit faith in what she reported. The result has been a firmer bond between my wife and me than we ever have known before. Long ago I stopped complaining about burned biscuits, bedcovers not tucked in or her minor kitchen and wardrobe extravagances. She, in turn, has not pampered me, and I think this has been all to the good.

With the exception of certain scarring on the periphery of my lungs from the effects of radiation, the doctors insist I am not damaged or handicapped. My wife has accepted this verdict at face value. When she believes I should empty the wastebaskets into the incinerator, she says so—cancer or not. Furthermore, she talks about my disease to our friends just as though it had been influenza or a sprained ankle. She never mutes or muffles

the dreaded word "cancer." The doctors have pronounced that I am going to get well. For Maurine, that is that. What more is there to add? And why exempt a man from household chores simply because he has had cancer? What sense does that make? I may be approximately like my old neurotic self, but never a day passes that I do not offer thanks for a wife who is as natural and matter-of-fact as the south wind.

A narrow brush with death gives one an appreciation of people for themselves. Superficial symbols get lost. A time there was when I looked at my Senate colleagues exclusively as Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives. These are external qualities now. I see in my colleagues today people who have the capacity to suffer, to grieve, to be elated, to harbor either zest or lethargy for the personal problems ahead. I make allowances for the Senator with an ailing wife or wayward son. I am acutely and sensitively conscious of the Senator who, 11 years earlier, had a malignancy very similar to mine. He seems in good health, doesn't he? And when I watch a Senate liberal being rude to pageboys or colored washroom attendants, I wonder if truly liberal he may be. My colleagues are human beings, not mere public officials. And, thinking this, the excesses of political oratory become readily apparent in my mind. Can one side really be 100 percent right and the other side 100 percent wrong? Do human frailties ever divide so categorically?

Perhaps the personal equation has become too large, all of a sudden. Yet, instead of inquiring whether a Senator is a Democrat or Republican, I presently speculate regarding his attitudes toward other people. Does he actually like his fellow human beings? Does he respect their fears and hopes and aspirations? Does he cherish mankind as individuals or merely as voters, in the mass? Once these things never came into my mind. I based my verdict on how a colleague viewed the sales tax or public power or monopolies. I ponder how they would be on a picnic or camping trip—or if they had cancer. Behind each senatorial facade lurks a person who, when pricked, can bleed. I am aware of this in my colleagues rather than of their oratorical aspect, which issues high-sounding statements.

I believe it was Plato who wrote that no man ever really grew up until he realized he inevitably was going to die. I cannot evaluate whether or not my experience with cancer has added to my maturity. Others will have to make such an assessment. I do know, however, that it has made me profoundly cognizant of the tenuous nature of our passage through this troubled world. Nobody can rely upon indefinite time in which to advance his carefully nurtured plans. Occasionally I hear an acquaintance talk

about the office he is going to run for 6 years hence or the business venture he will undertake in the next decade or so. And, for him, I add under my breath "Deo volente—God willing."

I look forward now to each moment in the outdoors. I have a new interest in the phenomena of birds, insects, flowers, and plant life beyond our doorsill. I believe it was Albert Einstein who told his biographer that the universe would endure for 3 billion years. That is a long time for each of us to be occupying the dark recesses of some sarcophagus. Why not be under the sun and bright heavens and stars during our fleeting hours above ground? Should we immolate ourselves in steel and masonry when we are alive? My mind even played with the idea of suggesting that the Senate meet outside, under the stately trees of the Capitol Plaza, for its debates on fine spring or summer days. But I decided such a proposal would make my associates question my sanity. Yet is it so absurd, after all? Why not discuss man's transitory problems under the Almighty's eternal canopy?

The human soul and mind can tolerate much travail. Who has not wondered what his own thoughts would be if he heard a doctor declare that he had cancer? I suppose the speculation is never too vivid because each of us has held a fatalistic notion that it always would be the other fellow who received the grim verdict. Yet it has happened to me and, with much help, I have endured it. Of course, in all candor, I doubt if I can accurately assess what my thoughts might have been had the malignancy turned out to be resistant to radiation, rather than of a type which cobalt and high-voltage X-rays are able to destroy. But I believe our inner selves can tolerate more than we know. My wife and I have friends who lost their only child, a beautiful little girl, in a tragic automobile accident. How can people bear such anguish? Yet, somehow, they do and they go on with their daily lives.

"We are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow." So it is written in Job, viii: 9. But we cling to this wraith, shadowy though it may be. It ties us to those we love and to the pleasures of human existence, fleeting and transitory as they are. A tortoise is under guard in the Tongas Islands which saw Capt. James Cook, discoverer of the South Seas, come ashore from H.M.S. *Resolution* in 1776. When I look at Mount Hood's eternal snows from our home in Portland, I know I am seeing exactly the same profile of lava rock that came within the telescopes of the first westbound Americans. And so will Mount Hood remain when our descendants have landing platforms in outer space. Man's days may be brief and transient and low numbered, but he finds them sweet, nevertheless. "Life, if well

used, is long enough," wrote the wise Seneca, and who is there to gainsay him?

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, we have been going through a most unusual continuous session of the Senate, when men of good will and honor have differed very sharply on a most important issue, a period when the tempers and physical stamina of the Members of this body have been put to a very severe test, because advocates on both sides so strongly adhere to their deep convictions that they were willing to endure what they have passed.

Less than a year ago—on June 11, 1959—I placed in the body of the Record another article by DICK NEUBERGER. It appeared in the June 1959 issue of the Reader's Digest, and had the title "The Best Advice I Ever Had." The theme was very simple—that it is far easier and happier to go through life willing to grant that the other fellow may be right. If DICK NEUBERGER were here today, I am sure that would be the advice he would give to all of us in the controversy over the matters we are now debating at such great lengths.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "The Best Advice I Ever Had" be again printed, and I urge every Member to read it. As I have stated, it was published in the June 1959 issue of the Reader's Digest:

THE BEST ADVICE I EVER HAD

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, U.S. Senator from Oregon)

I still remember my encounter with a band of silent and forbidding Chipewyan Indians building longboats in a primitive shipyard along the Athabaska River. They stared at me hostilely until I mentioned that I was a friend of Inspector Denny La Nauze, a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in these northern solitudes. With that, their hospitality knew no bounds. Afterward on the trip, whether at a trapper's lonely bivouac or in a remote mission hospital, the same magical result occurred whenever I mentioned my friendship with La Nauze.

Later, at his home in Calgary, I asked the famous man hunter of the Mounted how he accounted for such affection, rarely given to a man with the stern task of upholding the law. La Nauze looked at me out of pale-blue eyes that had squinted across bleak

miles of frozen tundra. "Dick," he replied, "I suppose those people in the North Country still think well of me because I followed a rule that I would recommend in all human relationships. No matter how decisive things seemed to be on my side, I always kept in mind one thought: The other fellow may be right."

Perhaps because of the impressive dignity of the man, his advice has lingered in my memory and guided me. It has given me second thoughts in situations where once I felt all too sure of myself.

Not long after my last visit with La Nauze I spoke to a convocation at Oregon State College. It was during the 1954 senatorial campaign. A member of the faculty asked a question challenging the consistency of a position I had taken on inflation and taxes. Instead of retorting belligerently, as I was tempted to do, I hesitated for a moment, then answered, "I never thought of it that way before. I believe you are right. My stand isn't wholly consistent."

After the election the president of the college, Dr. A. L. Strand, said, "Nothing that happened won you as many votes on our campus as that answer. Too many politicians are certain they are right on every issue. You made your best impression with that simple admission of human fallibility."

This has not invariably been easy advice to put into practice. On one occasion I was debating on the Senate floor with my former colleague, Arthur V. Watkins, of Utah, over a bill proposing a huge storage dam in the Dinosaur National Monument. He had used up his allotment of time; I had about half an hour left. When he asked if I would yield him a little of my time, I obeyed an impulse to press my advantage and replied testily that I thought the Senator had spoken long enough.

From the rustle which went through the Senate Chamber, I knew I had said the wrong thing. I also realized that Watkins might be right in his request. If his argument was so effective that I could not afford to be generous about granting him 10 or 15 minutes more, did I deserve to triumph in the debate?

I wrestled this over in my conscience, and then admitted publicly that I had been wrong and arbitrary in my attitude. Not only did the admission make for me some personal friends out of Senators who had merely been acquaintances before, but it won an invaluable ally in Arthur Watkins. A year later, when the Klamath River watershed in my State needed urgent legislation to protect timber and waterfowl marshes, he gave it strong support.

Denny La Nauze's rule, it seems to me, can benefit almost anyone. How many times in casual conversation are we led into quarrels because we bristle up and stubbornly refuse to admit that the other fellow may have a case? How often a parent confuses a youngster by insisting that father knows best when a textbook has just proved the old man wrong. Whenever I hear some dubious

claim arrogantly advanced, I wonder how many humiliations might be avoided and friendships saved if we could always remember the mountie's simple rule. I, for one, have found it far easier and happier to go through life willing to grant that—the other fellow may be right.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, in closing, I want to extend my most heartfelt sympathy to Maurine Neuberger and hope that the fact that I share her deep sorrow will be of some small solace to her. DICK and Maurine Neuberger were a team. Much of his greatness resided in the full partnership that she gave him. If there ever was an instance of a widow deserving to succeed to and carry on the work of her husband, it is Maurine Neuberger because she is the surviving member of a partnership that inspired the people of Oregon and those of us in Washington who saw that partnership in action.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, 350 years ago Shakespeare wrote of the dead king:

After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.

We who knew DICK NEUBERGER would pray for that now; and we who knew him are confident that he sleeps well. His life was such that he could not sleep otherwise.

Mr. President, I knew the Neuberger family long before Senator NEUBERGER came to the Senate. In the everyday affairs of life in Portland, Oreg., and all over Oregon, he behaved exactly as he behaved in the Senate of the United States—a humble man, a meek man, but not servile; a man dedicated to his fellow men.

I desire to join my associates in saying, "God bless him." And, Mr. President, I join the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] in everything he said, and I say "Amen" to everything that has been said by our other colleagues about Senator NEUBERGER.

May his good wife—and she is the type who will have the fortitude to bear her cross bravely, as a fine person should—receive the comfort of the Almighty.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, much has been said, and well said, on the floor of the Senate in eulogy of our col-

league, Senator NEUBERGER; and it seems impossible to add anything new to the statements already made.

However, I could not let this occasion pass without joining my colleagues in paying my respect to his memory.

When Senator NEUBERGER first came to the Senate, it was my privilege to serve with him—as I did for 4 years—on the Committee on Public Works.

Much has been said here today about DICK NEUBERGER'S tolerance and his love for his fellow men. But it should not be forgotten that he was also intolerant of the things he thought were wrong, and he was a lusty, two-fisted fighter for the things he thought were right.

He was passionately devoted to his own principles, and in the early days of his service here there were many of us who found him a fiery antagonist. So it was in my first acquaintance with him on the committee when we differed on the question of public power.

It was not until later, as our service together continued, that I came to see, to know, and to love the real DICK NEUBERGER, because he was the type of man who grows upon one as time unfolds. He was the kind of man who "wears well." In other words, the longer one knew him, the better he liked him—and that is high praise. It has been my privilege in the latter years of his service here to have his friendship and to be his friend, and I join with every word that has been said on the floor this morning. My deep sympathy goes out to his widow. He was able, he was honest, he was fearless, he was kind, and, above all, he was completely sincere. We shall all miss him and the country is poorer because he is gone.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I should like to join with my colleagues in expressing my deepest sorrow on the passing of Senator NEUBERGER, and my feeling that the Senate and the Nation have suffered a great loss. Few men have served in the Senate during my service here who so completely won the hearts, friendship, and loyalties DICK NEUBERGER won in the brief period he was permitted to so

ably serve his great State of Oregon and this Nation. He was the soul of kindness, a man who while he maintained strong and most courageous views on many issues, always met opposition with a feeling of reasonable kindness that contributed always to finding the very greatest and best possible solution.

In his personal life with his lovely wife, in his life both in Oregon and Washington, he was a leader among all men, a man of vision, a man of character, a man of great consideration, always looking at the views of the other man, studying his own and then trying to find, with his deep sense of justice, whether his position was the one that should be maintained. Thus, he always made a very strong decision when he made it, but was dedicated to carrying out to the fullest the will of the majority once it was reached.

I had the privilege of serving with him for several years on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. I know the deep compassion he had for our aging public workers. I knew his interest in helping to preserve their health, and to give them a health plan that is not only for the benefit of those still in Government, but those who had already retired. It was due to DICK NEUBERGER'S continuous drive and his strenuous study that led to the passage of what I hope will be called the Neuberger bill, the bill that will guarantee to all public workers the benefits of a health and hospitalization program, which will be a suitable tribute and memorial to a man who always thought of the other man first.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, when a man in the prime of his life leaves us we are always saddened, but when one who is talented, who has imagination, who has ideas, and the courage to express those ideas, passes away, we all feel a personal loss because we lose the opportunity to hear his views and to get his ideas.

I did not have the privilege of serving on any committee with DICK NEUBERGER so I did not know him in that way, but I grew to know him from my associations with him on the

floor of the Senate and outside. I grew to like him. I grew to trust him. I felt that he always gave me his views sincerely. I respected those views, even though I might not always agree with them. He was an honest man. He was a sincere man. He had a fine sense of humor, and we will all feel the loss we have sustained in his sudden and untimely passing. I join with the others in my expression of our loss and expressing my sympathy to his wife.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Mrs. Humphrey and I heard this morning of the death of our good and beloved friend, RICHARD NEUBERGER. We were saddened, as I am sure every one of his many friends were. Our entire family extends to Maurine Neuberger, DICK'S wonderful wife, our heartfelt sympathy and condolences.

I should like to say just a few words about Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, more affectionately known as DICK NEUBERGER, as a man, as a legislator, and as a leader. I did not have the privilege of knowing him individually or personally until just a few years before his coming to the Senate. I have known of him as a public figure, a leading citizen, because of his writings, because of his deep and abiding interest in conservation, because of his wholesome interest and dedication to the great out of doors. Many of us had read of his trips in the wilderness areas, in the forests, lake country, the mountains, and we knew that this man was a man who literally communed with God in the great outdoors.

First, I should like to note that DICK NEUBERGER in a very personal sense was a deeply spiritual and religious man. I say this because he always loved and had respect for the things created by God. As has been indicated here by the testimony of our colleagues, DICK NEUBERGER was a tolerant man, and yet had deep convictions, and he was a man who loved his fellowman. Yet was never moved primarily by the quest for popularity. He was a man of principle and thus a man of leadership. He not only had respect for his fellow human being, and truly believed in and practiced respect for human dignity, but he loved the other great creations of the

Almighty—the land, the forests, the mountains, the timber, the water, the beasts of the field—he loved all of creation, and his whole life was a symphony of respect for, love of and admiration for the works of divine providence.

I knew RICHARD NEUBERGER, our friend DICK, as a man of keen mind, a happy countenance, a rich and wonderful soul, and a noble spirit. I liked him, and I shall always like him and respect him. Mrs. Humphrey and I have been in the home of Dick and Maurine Neuberger many times. We have shared in their friendship, and have had the rewarding experience of their affection and their stimulating creative thought.

As has been said here today, Maurine Neuberger was DICK'S partner. These two wonderful people were, and are, inseparable. There is an immortality and an eternity in this relationship, and I know that whatever we say of DICK NEUBERGER in a very real sense applies to his wife. What a wonderful relationship.

Now let me say a word or two about DICK NEUBERGER as a legislator. First of all, to be a good legislator, one has to be a worker, attending to the duties of legislation, the little things, the details. There are many Members of this body who are seldom given public praise, who seldom get a headline, who are great legislators, because they work at it, they understand the processes of legislation, they lend their talents to the details of perfecting a legislative proposal. After all, a Member of the Congress has, as his first duty, legislation—the discussion of it, the preparation of it, and the examination of it.

DICK NEUBERGER was a legislator supreme, with honors. He was here on the floor of the Senate during the consideration of every bill in which he had an interest, and his mind was one that ranged over an area of subject matter that covered the subject foreign policy all the way to the care of little children.

He was interested in agriculture, in conservation, in resource development, in public power, in recreation, in our national parks. Never was there a greater champion of

national parks in the Senate than DICK NEUBERGER, because he saw in national parks the playground of the people. Here was a man who looked ahead half a century, or a century, and he fought for conservation of our great natural resources and the protection of our wilderness areas so the people of the next generation would have really an opportunity to commune with God in the great out of doors, unspoiled and untouched by human hand.

Senator NEUBERGER was an active proponent here in the Senate of measures relating to public health and medical research before his own sickness, and even more so after the scourge of cancer had touched his body. It is something to me that will always be an exemplification of his courage how he literally overcame that malignancy with an indomitable spirit; and he spoke even more movingly and even more frequently of the imperative need to utilize our country's resources to combat the disease called cancer.

I hope every Senator will always be mindful of how many Members of this body have been stricken by the terrible disease, the malignancy that takes so many, called cancer.

Mr. President, I speak now of his interest in other areas of legislation. I speak of social welfare. DICK NEUBERGER was interested in Federal aid to education. He was interested in education, and not only education as a topic, but as a way of enriching the soul and enlightening the mind. He was the protector of the handicapped.

I wonder how many of my colleagues know of the articles DICK NEUBERGER wrote on employment of the aged, better housing for the aged, and the care of our elderly.

As was stated here a few moments ago by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney], the particular legislation enacted on behalf of Federal employees, the health and welfare legislation, ought to become a living memorial to DICK NEUBERGER.

Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER was concerned about life and about the living. He was concerned about the good life, the life abundant, the life meaningful. And a man who

has that concern never dies. He just goes on to other work and other rewards.

So I salute DICK NEUBERGER today, as I did while he was living, for his stalwart championship of things important, yes, of the truly great things of life—the children he worked for, fought for, and, in a sense, died for; the elderly who needed the warm heart of a generous and a good man, as well as the fighting spirit to protect them.

I salute DICK NEUBERGER for his everlasting dedication to conservation of human and natural resources. And what is there that is more wonderful to conserve than to conserve and develop and enrich both the human mind and body and the great resources that have been granted and given to us by a generous and beneficent providence?

Mr. President, this man was one of courage, one of conscience, one of concern; and I hope that all of us will, in our own little way, whatever it may be, let his wife know, not only by this printed Record, but by a friendly word, privately, or a letter, or a telephone call, our sense of deep loss and our sense of sympathy. I only hope that my life can be as rewarding and as good as that of the one who has passed on.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, we meet this morning with heavy hearts. In the busy turmoil of our daily activities, especially when we are in the midst of acute and difficult problems like the one with which we have been dealing for the past several weeks, we often forget how much each of us means to each other, how much this quite rare companionship in the Senate signifies to all of us; and it is only when news like that which we heard this morning, of the death of DICK NEUBERGER, comes upon us with a shock that we realize the great blessings that all of us enjoy in each other's company and in each other's companionship in our day-to-day work and in our lives here in Washington. And to that life everyone contributes, but no one has ever contributed more than DICK NEUBERGER and his lovely and devoted wife, Maurine.

Mr. President, DICK NEUBERGER means as much to us in memory as he did in actual service and companionship here in Washington.

It is impossible for me to say anything to equal the tributes that have been made to DICK already. As an individual—and he was an individual, Mr. President—he left his mark upon this body and upon the lives, minds and hearts of all of us; an individual with very distinct and definite views which he never feared or hesitated to express; an individual who consistently followed through on his convictions. And he held his convictions not with arrogance, but with great firmness.

He was a very consistent man. For him to believe something was to put it into action, and in this day, when the appearance of things seems sometimes more important than the actuality, that quality is of special value.

He was a man who was involved, as the Senator from Minnesota has just said, with all of God's creations, and especially with other human beings. No one whom he knew suffered without DICK suffering, too, or rejoiced without his sharing in that joy.

This very involvement had, I really believe, something to do with the fact that he died at such an early age. There was no checkrein on him. He was constantly pouring out his feelings, his mind, his emotions, with everything that came before him and into everything that came before him.

This morning my beloved former colleague, Alexander Smith, phoned me and asked me expressly to say to my colleagues here today that he was deeply shocked to learn of DICK's death. He wanted me to say, and he joins with me in saying, that he had the highest regard for DICK NEUBERGER as a very fine Senator and as a wonderful person.

This influence of DICK's, this imprint that he made upon people, is deeply shared by Alexander Smith.

Rightly, everyone who has spoken has mentioned his relationship with Maurine, and surely there never was a happier marriage, one more deeply satisfactory or satisfying.

My wife and I knew them both well, were fond of them in a very deep and personal way, and she shares with me the sense of loss that we feel this morning. My wife joins with me in our most heartfelt sympathy, good wishes and deep affection for Maurine.

Mr. LONG of Hawaii. Mr. President, I am certain that all of us here this morning realize that our ardent friend and colleague has attained an immortality that is very meaningful to us, and readily understood by all of us. He will live on in the hearts and the affections of his friends and his colleagues, and also in the minds, the affections, of a great multitude of people that never had the privilege of knowing him.

He will also live on in the beneficial influence of the constructive legislation that he sponsored. In a very real way he will live on in the influence of the numerous books that he wrote.

Back in 1954, shortly after I had the privilege of becoming acquainted with him, and discussing some of the problems in which we had a mutual interest, problems and hopes, he sent me an autographed copy of what was then his latest book, "Adventures in Politics," and he called my attention particularly to the second chapter.

The title of it is "Give the Young Folks a Chance."

I think it is fitting at this time that I read the opening paragraph of this 18-page chapter, the closing paragraph, and four intervening paragraphs. They are warm; they are human; they point to an interest that he had, perhaps, that surpassed all others, that of an interest in young people.

My wife and I are in our early forties. Although we still can climb snowcapped mountains and brave the Pacific's chilly surf, we realize that we are getting on in years. After all, each of us has been voting for two full decades. Our college days date back to the great depression, and that is now history. Yet we are younger than at least two-thirds of the other Senators and Representatives who serve with us in the legislature of a typical State of the Union.

In our opinion, youth ought to have a far greater role than this in the drafting of laws that affect such questions as child welfare, public schools, courts, mental hospitals, and the degree of financial responsibility that grown sons and daughters owe to needy parents. These often are youth's problems, but youth has only a faint voice in their solution.

State government seems upside down to us when young legislators are merely a small and isolated minority. My wife and I wish that we qualified, even at our present ages not as comparatively junior members of Oregon's Legislature but as its venerated elders. Yet the political deck frequently is stacked against the presence of young men and women in the State capitols of our 48 States.

My wife and I definitely refuse to string along with the ancient Greek notion of "old men for council, young men for war." Young men—and young women, too—should sit in their country's councils, and a State legislature is the place to begin.

I remember a public hearing at which Maurine presided as chairman of the Education Committee of the House of Representatives. The question at issue was a State-supported university for Portland, the only large city in the West without such an institution.

The hall was full of hundreds of high school seniors. They listened intently. Their opportunity to be a surgeon or a chemist or a teacher was being decided, right in that hearing chamber. One could feel the tension and anxiety. The speakers addressed the legislative committee with a new intensity and fervor. Why should Portland, alone, be without a State college? A young lawyer, a veteran of the Korean fighting put this question in urgent tones which stirred even the drowsiest committee member.

This was the right of petition, the right of citizens to voice an appeal to their Government. Another young man, Jefferson, had written movingly about this basic right when America as a Nation was very young, indeed.

That night, as we walked to our rented cottage in the State capital city of Salem, my wife said to me: "For the first time I think I really appreciate what a wonderful thing it is to participate in politics and Government in the United States. Why, if we pass this bill for a college, we'll be giving countless boys and girls a better chance in life. Think of what that means. That's real and tangible. All of a sudden, my election to the legislature seems more important to me than it ever has before."

I looked behind us for a moment. In the distance Oregon's soaring capitol dome pointed upward to the stars.

I like to think of our departed colleague as one who, through difficulties and every phase of life, kept his eyes on the stars.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in mourning my very close friend, the late junior Senator from Oregon. When he first came to the Senate, he was assigned to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and it was natural that he and I, from an adjoining State, should have many mutual interests. We did not always agree on some controversial issues, but we learned to respect each other.

In paying a tribute to our late colleague, it would be entirely appropriate to point out that when serving as chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Interior Committee, he rendered outstanding service. I am sure that the members of that committee were well aware of his profound interest in doing everything possible to serve the interests, and safeguard the welfare of the Indians, not only of his own State, but of the entire Nation.

I recall one experience very vividly in November of 1958, shortly after his operation, when he served as chairman of a subcommittee which held a hearing at Bend, Oreg., on the pending wilderness bill. I was the only other Senator in attendance at that time. We heard as many as 100 witnesses. I was very deeply impressed by the fairness and courtesy which he displayed as chairman. I was also aware of the deep affection for him which was shown by the people of his State during those proceedings.

Much has been said today about DICK NEUBERGER'S devotion to his fellowmen, his deep religious convictions, and his untiring efforts to serve his State and his Nation. I am certain that throughout his service he constantly grew in stature. He displayed tolerance, which is so important in serving as a Member of the Senate.

I believe also—and it was generally recognized—that his influence was constantly expanding, and that he had a deep understanding of the problems facing our country today.

Another characteristic of Senator NEUBERGER'S, which I think we should emphasize at this time, is that he displayed a steadfastness in defending his convictions. Frequently, he was in a small minority. But that did not seem to disturb him greatly, because he had an abiding faith in his own judgment. I might mention particularly that although early in his senatorial service we disagreed on some of the fundamental issues which affect the welfare of the Columbia Basin States, we were closely associated, and we became intimate friends. I respected him as an able legislator and a patriot who was dedicated to the preservation of American ideals and traditions.

Oregon has lost a faithful public servant.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I desire to associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues with respect to the untimely passing of our friend, and my personal friend, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, the junior Senator from Oregon.

DICK NEUBERGER was well known and respected in my State. It was only a few months ago, in Denver, that he delivered the principal address at the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Research Institute, at the American Medical Center.

While in Denver, he was the principal speaker at a regional meeting of the B'nai B'rith of the western area, known as the Mountain States Area.

I know that I bespeak thoughts which could be better expressed by Palmer Hoyt, the present editor and publisher of the Denver Post, and who formerly was associated with the Portland Oregonian, and of Robert Lucas, of the Denver Post, all personal friends of DICK NEUBERGER, when I express sorrow and shock at his untimely passing.

It was only a short time ago—a few days ago—that I received a warm personal note from DICK NEUBERGER. I was shocked this morning to learn of his passing, because many of us had been led to believe that he was on his way to recovery.

So I express on behalf of my family, which is very close to the Neuberger family, our deepest sorry and sympathy.

I wish to say a word about Senator NEUBERGER along the line expressed by the distinguished senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. Dworshak], who also is a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. We found Senator NEUBERGER to be a warmhearted, sincere person who, in his first term as a Senator, established a remarkable record as a great humanitarian. His great interest was in the people. He displayed great interest in the conservation of the Nation's natural resources, not because of the material and physical plant structure, but because of what they meant to the people.

As a newspaperman, DICK NEUBERGER was one who had a passion for the truth.

A great contemporary writer, Ernest Hemingway, has defined courage as grace under stress. No other description better fits the courage shown by DICK NEUBERGER during the years he was among us.

Senator NEUBERGER was of great service to his own State and to the West. He worked constantly in his private career, and later in public life, for good conservation practices and for the wise development of America's priceless natural resources for the benefit of all—those of the generations to come as well as those in our own time.

The Carroll family extends the deepest sympathy to DICK NEUBERGER's lovely wife, Maurine, who worked so closely with him in his public life, and who was so close to him in all the things which he did.

We express our sympathy not only to Maurine but also to DICK NEUBERGER's many friends throughout the Nation. We shall all miss him very much indeed.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in their expressions of sorrow upon the occasion of the death of our colleague, Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

It is always difficult for me to express myself at a time like this, because I have never found words adequate enough to express sorrow over the loss of a friend, or to express the feelings I have for those of the family who are left.

I asked myself this morning, as I often do, "What do we remember about this departed man, this good friend?" Oh, I could recount numerous incidents that I recall, and will always recall with great pleasure—the political debates in which DICK and I engaged in different places in the East and in the West; our differences of political opinion, which, while at times they were violent, were always pleasant; the many meetings that he and I attended throughout the years on the subject of the Indians, a subject in which his leadership was preeminent. To him the Indians of this country owe an everlasting debt.

To me, the things I will always remember about DICK NEUBERGER were his personal characteristics. It is sad to realize that today too few people have those characteristics, which were the characteristics of the pioneers and the founders of our country; characteristics which we used to expect to find in people. He was a man having characteristics which today we too seldom see.

His first great characteristic was his sincerity. I think the thing which characterized him far and above the average man was his sincere application to the things in which he believed.

His second great characteristic was his complete honesty—devotion to the honesty of his convictions. I have never known DICK to deviate one inch from a principle in which he believed.

That leads me to the third characteristic, the sincere application of his thinking and the dedication of his life to the principles in which he believed.

Mr. President, I am one who will have bettered himself by having had the opportunity to be associated with DICK NEUBERGER during a portion of my life. To his memory, I pay my deepest respects.

To his wife, Maurine, and to the other members of his family go the heartfelt sympathies of my wife, Peggy, and our family.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, "No man reaches true maturity until he faces death."

These are the words of our late colleague, Senator RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER. He said them after he had faced death from cancer and apparently had emerged victorious.

His maturity of mind and heart was indicated by the sincerity of his convictions and the straightforwardness and clarity of the words he chose to express those convictions.

As writer, author, soldier, statesman, RICHARD NEUBERGER was a warm and upright human being. He wrote a book he called "Our Promised Land." Now he has gone there. As it must over all mortals, death won the final victory.

His presence and his voice will be missed in the Public Works Committee, on which I had the privilege of serving with him, and in the Senate of the United States.

I join in mourning the loss of our distinguished colleague and extend my deepest sympathy to his widow and family.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of regret that I learned of the untimely passing of my friend, the able and distinguished Senator from Oregon, Mr. NEUBERGER.

During his term in the Senate, it was one of the great pleasures of my life to know DICK NEUBERGER. He was a man of integrity, ability, and honor in the true sense of the words. He was a devoted and dedicated public servant, and a great American who ably represented his great State and the people of this Nation.

DICK NEUBERGER was a man who not only espoused the principles of Christianity, but practiced them in their true and real meaning. He was a God-fearing, courageous man, who labored tirelessly in the vineyard for the good of mankind.

The example of the illustrious endeavors of this noble man will remain indelibly imprinted in the hearts of his countrymen.

DICK NEUBERGER was a great Senator, a great patriot, and a great American.

The Senate of the United States, the people of the State of Oregon, and the Nation as well have suffered a grievous and irreparable loss.

Mr. President, I want to take this occasion to extend my sincere and deepest sympathy to his family in their hour of bereavement.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, our hearts are profoundly saddened by the loss which the Senate, the State of Oregon, and our Nation have suffered in the untimely death of our beloved colleague, Senator RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER.

We have lost a dear friend, and this generation and the next and the next will continue to hold precious the example of his good works and the inspiration of his matchless courage.

Throughout his lifetime, as soldier, traveler, sportsman, conservationist, journalist, historian, member of the Oregon House of Representatives, member of the Oregon State Senate, and U.S. Senator, DICK NEUBERGER'S services and his contributions reflected his deep conviction that America's greatness will be protected and preserved in direct proportion to the degree in which we protect and preserve our Nation's God-given resources, not only our great material resources, but the even greater resources inherent in the health and vigor and determination of our people.

Before he came to the Senate of the United States, DICK NEUBERGER was widely recognized for his contributions to the conservation of our Nation's water resources, forests, soil, and wildlife. He wrote prolifically and challengingly on these and other subjects and did so much to dramatize and to advance the cause of conservation of our material resources.

After he came to the Senate, DICK NEUBERGER worked long and effectively in the urgent and vital field of conservation of our people. He was untiring and completely dedicated to his constant work in behalf of better health, better education, and longer, happier lives for all our people.

DICK NEUBERGER nowhere better demonstrated the quality of mind and spirit that made him great than when he seized

upon his tragic illness, not as a defeat, but as an instrument to help accentuate the increasing need and to challenge our people toward greater effort for legislation, for funds, and for education to mount a major medical research offensive against not only the insidious cancer such as had stricken him, but against all the killing and crippling diseases which have plagued and baffled mankind through the centuries.

Today we give our thanks for DICK NEUBERGER'S leadership, for his statesmanship, and, above all, for the courageous example of humanitarianism which he bequeathed us.

He was in truth a servant to all mankind.

To his devoted wife, who was his wonderful and inspiring helpmate through the years, and to the members of his family, I join in extending my deep sympathy in their great loss.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I am extremely saddened by the untimely passing of our friend and colleague, the junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. NEUBERGER. During his 6 years as a Member of this body, he served the people of Oregon and the Nation with distinction.

During that time, DICK NEUBERGER and I did not always agree. Indeed, more often than not, we found ourselves disagreeing on various issues. However, regardless of whether I stood with him or against him in matters under consideration in this Chamber, I always respected the forthright and courageous manner in which he fought to support his beliefs.

The junior Senator from Oregon was never one to sidestep issues. He was always ready and willing to stand and be counted. As long as I knew him, I admired his virogous approach to the problems confronting this Nation, and his adamant refusal to be a fence straddler.

Although Senator NEUBERGER was still in his first term as a Member of this body, the contributions which he made during that time will remain a lasting monument to his ability as a Senator.

I shall personally miss his presence in the Senate, and I join with my colleagues in extending my heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family in their great loss.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the Senate has lost one of its finest men and most distinguished scholars.

RICHARD NEUBERGER'S death came as a shock to us all.

He was a believer in the future of this country and a student of its great past. He believed that democracy was a vital progressive way of life. He fought for measures to assure the utilization of the great natural wealth of this country for all citizens.

He was a reflective man. And we in the Senate shall miss the stimulation of his ideas on matters affecting the very core of our democratic society.

Students and thoughtful citizens will miss his fine articles and comments on the American political scene.

I was honored to be his friend.

It is with deep sorrow that I join in paying tribute to our late colleague, DICK NEUBERGER, and in expressing the regrets of my wife and myself to his gracious and lovely wife.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, the sudden passing of our able colleague from Oregon has come to me as a source of shock and regret just as it has to the other Members of the Senate.

Senator NEUBERGER'S sincerity in the legislative objectives which he sought could never be disputed, and his forthrightness was accompanied by a sense of gentility which was highly appreciated even by those who might not agree with his point of view.

The fact that he has been taken from us in the very prime of life strikes not only his own family but the people of Oregon very severely. I join with all others in extending most heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Neuberger in this hour of sorrow.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the other day, when Senators paid their tributes to our late colleague, Senator NEUBERGER, who has gone ahead on the journey which all of us must take, unfortunately I was not able to be in the Senate.

I wish to say that DICK NEUBERGER was, to me, one of the finest men with whom I have become acquainted in the 20 years I have served in the Senate. He and his wife—really fine-quality folks—have been an inspiration to all of us.

We realize that with the passing of Senator NEUBERGER, another strong character has left the Senate. Senator NEUBERGER had strong convictions, and lived a life of great service to the people of Oregon and to all the people of the Nation.

Mr. President, the passing of Senator NEUBERGER leaves a wake of sorrow, deep regret, and a void—unique in its own way—in the U.S. Senate.

As a vigorous servant of the people, our good friend brought to the Senate an acute intellect, a warm heart, and a youthful, forward-looking philosophy.

In recent times, we recall that on several occasions DICK passed through the Valley of the Shadow. Each time, however, he came back to us with a winning smile, a warm handclasp, and a rededication of his talents and abilities to ever-better fulfillment of his significant role as a U.S. Senator.

Through his writings, as well as through his service in the Senate, DICK reflected a broad interest—historically and traditionally—in the Nation he loved; and, in addition, he made concentrated efforts to throw new light upon the vast complex of problems which confront us.

The people of the great State of Oregon, and the people of the country can be justly proud of the record DICK NEUBERGER has written as a citizen, as a writer, and as a public servant.

Senator NEUBERGER'S work in the Senate ranks high among the significant contributions which outstanding Senators have made to the progress of our beloved country.

To his loved ones goes our expression of deepest regret and sympathy. For them, a reminder of the high esteem with which his work and life are regarded by his fellow Senators may be of some solace in this time of sorrow.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

WEDNESDAY, *March 9, 1960.*

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 471

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, a Senator of the United States from the State of Oregon.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of four Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee the following members on the part of the House: Mrs. Green, Mr. Norblad, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Ullman.

The Clerk will report the remainder of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 34 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 10, 1960, at 12 o'clock noon.

THURSDAY, *March 10, 1960.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Romans 10: 12: *The same Lord who is over all is rich unto all who call upon Him.*

Almighty God, in this moment of prayer, may we yield our minds and hearts to the promptings and persuasions of Thy holy spirit to be touched to finer and nobler issues.

Teach us the truth, made known in the precepts and example of our blessed Lord, that we are members one of another and that by cultivating the fraternal spirit we shall gain a more vivid sense of Thy divine and universal fatherhood.

Show us how we may close the chasm between the strong and the weak, the prosperous and the unfortunate, the privileged and the handicapped by casting into it our pride and prejudice, our indifference and selfishness, and thus transform it into a highway where we may walk together in liberty and justice and blessedness for all.

Inspire our souls with a longing to achieve for mankind everywhere a life that is more abundant economically, a freedom that is coordinated with discipline and civic responsibility, and a happiness that is more abiding spiritually.

Hear us in the name of the Prince of Peace. Amen.

A message from the Senate by Mr. McGown, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

S. RES. 286

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, late a Senator from the State of Oregon.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now take a recess until 9 o'clock ante meridian tomorrow.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce to the Members of the House the passing of my friend and colleague, the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER].

DICK NEUBERGER passed away in his home city of Portland, Oreg., this morning. His departure will be a tremendous loss to the State and to the Nation which he served so well for the past 6 years, and in whose service he gave forth every promise of an even more brilliant career in years to come.

DICK NEUBERGER was a many-sided man. His contributions to the culture of the Nation, through his talented pen, were manifold. His contributions to the art of government were numerous. If any one facet of his many-sided character stood out it was his unparalleled and passionate devotion to humanitarianism. DICK NEUBERGER never faltered, never wavered, in his fight to secure public recognition for the public responsibility in the struggle against disease, against the neglect and waste of human resources.

DICK NEUBERGER, as we all knew, suffered greatly in his last year of life from the ravages of cancer. However, his unremitting fight to secure Federal funds and Federal action in the fight against all disease dates back to a time before he was himself stricken. And his own sufferings, his own pain, did not lessen his efforts or stop his dedicated work until the exhaustion of his personal fight against this disease brought to an end his public fight against it. If any man ever gave his life for his country, if any man ever died in the direct line of duty to his fellow man, that man was DICK NEUBERGER. If you would seek DICK NEUBERGER's memorial go to our hospitals, to our National Institutes of Health, and look at the hope in the faces of men, women, and children who would have no hope today had this man not freely thrown away the energies of his own life in order to help them and to help us all.

To Mrs. Neuberger and to his parents goes our most heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon in this word of tribute to the late great Senator from her State. Senator NEUBERGER was an outstanding American, a man of tremendous talents in many fields, a man who, though he had attained outstanding achievements in his life, was still in the prime of his life when he left us. For several months he struggled against the ravages of diseases that ultimately struck him down, but during that struggle he gave, I think, more to the matter of fighting for better health standards, as the gentlewoman had said, for all mankind, than he did to his own physical well-being. Our country has lost a distinguished statesman. I join the gentlewoman in this expression with respect to his life and his service, and in so doing I know I express the sentiments of all Members of the House.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it was with a deep sense of shock and grief that I learned this morning of the death of Senator NEUBERGER. His death is a great and irretrievable loss, a tragic loss, not only to the State of Oregon but to the Nation. He was one of the most able spokesmen, gifted as very few others in expressing the sentiments and the ideals of the country that he loved so much. Senator NEUBERGER'S writings and also his legislative achievements constitute a lasting monument to his memory.

Having been stricken with cancer in 1958, he fought with great courage and was able to overcome this dread malady, returning here to continue with his legislative duties. He came back dedicated to wage a battle against cancer and disease, to fight against needless suffering of unfortunate people now and in the future.

Senator NEUBERGER was an outstanding conservationist. As a fellow member on the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, I want to say that his contributions in that body were great. He was the spokesman for millions of Americans who love the great outdoors.

Senator NEUBERGER's death is a great loss to all of America. To Mrs. Neuberger and to the family, I extend my deepest sympathy in this sad hour of bereavement.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with the distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. Green] in expressing sincere regret over the sudden passing of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER. It was truly shocking to read in the morning paper of his being stricken and then on a newscast at breakfast time to hear that the attack had been fatal.

DICK NEUBERGER, prior to his being a Member of the U.S. Senate, was known as an author. But actually, although his fame was as a successful writer, I think most people viewed him as a crusader and I think his career as a legislator was the same. He had a burning desire to convert others to the several noble and high causes that filled his heart and mind.

Naturally, my State of Washington and the Senator's State of Oregon have a common interest in many legislative programs. Thus, DICK NEUBERGER and I often had the same interests and matters of concern and while I embrace a different political philosophy and I would not say our views on legislation were the same, nevertheless as I knew him better I increasingly came to respect the Senator's courage, integrity and unselfish motives. His energy and ability were boundless and certainly he deserved to become a national figure, which he was, and an outstanding man of our time.

Mr. Speaker, I come from the Northwest where DICK NEUBERGER was an extremely well-known political figure, a sort of legend. We, of Washington State, recognize that in his passing our sister State of Oregon has sustained a severe loss. The common cause of the Pacific Northwest will suffer in many ways. It has lost a strong advocate.

Civil rights and civil liberties, conservation, better ethics and better government, these were what the Oregon crusader unceasingly sought and the highest tribute I can pay our departed friend is that no word of mine or of anyone will

so eloquently memorialize DICK NEUBERGER as will his own words and accomplishments in the records of our time.

In joining the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. Green] in expressing sorrow, I would not want to close without extending to Mrs. Neuberger my deepest sympathy.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in expressing our sorrow and regret at the passing of Senator NEUBERGER. The late Senator loved the district in Montana that I represent. Together with the Senator, I have gone over the Lewis and Clark trail about which he wrote so much and about which he knew so much. He would sit on those high mountain peaks dividing the States of Montana and Idaho and tell of how he felt about Montana and the whole great Northwest.

Mr. Speaker, as it has been so eloquently said here before, his loss is not only a loss to the State of Oregon as a Senator representing that great State, but the Nation has lost a historian and a writer and an ardent conservationist, in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and George Norris.

He was an effective spokesman for the wilderness bill, for public power, for health and welfare programs, including increased funds for the National Institutes of Health and research into the cause and cure of cripplers and killers such as cancer and heart disease. He sponsored legislation which established the medical insurance program for Federal employees. As chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee he was tireless on behalf of the first Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Neuberger and want to express the special regret of the State of Montana at the loss of one of our adopted sons.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, today a man young in years, but truly mature in outlook and understanding, has left us. The untimely passing of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER is a personal loss for many of us.

His State and his Nation have lost one whose devotion to public duty and his overpowering and abiding faith transcended personal pain to the degree that he was able to overcome the scourge of cancer, only to be taken by a stroke.

DICK NEUBERGER'S public record will proudly stand for all to see. But more important, I think, is the record of human and inspiring courage he displayed, a courage that has given hope and comfort to others afflicted with pain or disease.

Today we bow our heads with sadness, for we have lost a friend—we have lost a colleague. In expressing deep feelings of sympathy to Maurine Neuberger, I know every Member of Congress and her many friends wish her Godspeed in adjusting to the loss of a dear husband—a courageous man.

Mr. Speaker, DICK NEUBERGER loved life; he loved people. I can think of no better tribute to his memory than the fulfillment of his efforts to lick the problem of cancer so that in the days to come precious life will not be threatened by this vicious disease. Indeed, his death, caused by a cerebral hemorrhage, also reemphasizes the need for greater effort in all phases of medical research.

I am sure that the fulfillment of man's dream of life without disease and pain, a dream which someday will become reality, will serve as a shining tribute to men such as DICK NEUBERGER.

No man could ask for a more lasting tribute. No man would deserve it more.

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, who died today at the all too early age of 47 was an earnest, sincere, and diligent lawmaker of great courage in fighting for the principles in which he believed.

The Senator was a lifelong student of governmental and of social problems. His interests were wide and varied. No problem which seemed to him to affect the well-being of citizens was too little or too big for him to tackle. His years of writing experience gave him a clarity of expression that enabled him to win many a battle for programs and policies in which he believed.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the Congress and the Nation lost an exceptionally, truly able, humble, and extremely hard working servant when RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, the junior Senator from Oregon, died of a cerebral hemorrhage this morning in Oregon.

DICK NEUBERGER was that rare combination of keen observer and effective participant. He understood and he believed in our political processes. His knowledge on public issues was incredibly broad.

He was an acknowledged authority in the areas of conservation, public power, public health and research, and many others.

I leave now to attend his funeral in Oregon. His spirit and his intellectual contribution have left us all in his debt.

To his wife, Maurine, and to his parents, go our deepest sympathy. Oregon will long honor the works and memory of DICK NEUBERGER, a public servant whose dedication to his duties led to his death at the age of 47.

Mr. Speaker, my friend and coworker from Oregon, Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, died March 9, 1960. It is not easy for me to realize that he is in fact gone from this earth. So many of our mutual projects continue to come to my attention. I miss his wise counsel and friendly cooperation.

DICK'S great public services are fully discussed in the editorials and articles which I submit. I am going to record here a few personal facts about my friendship with him.

Long before I met DICK I had heard about him. I was a student in Woodrow Wilson Junior High School in Eugene when he was a student under Wayne Morse, among other professors, at the University of Oregon. I knew of him as a fearless, brilliant editor of the Oregon Daily Emerald, the student newspaper.

Later when I came home from college in the East I would talk about DICK NEUBERGER'S latest exploits with Bill Tugman, longtime editor of the Eugene Register-Guard and more recently editor-publisher of the Port Umpqua (Reedsport, Oreg.) Courier.

"Dick ought to get married," Bill often told me. This was his solution, in part anyway, for Dick's many and in his opinion somewhat outrageous crusades. Later Dick met and married a schoolteacher by the name of Maurine Brown. Then two crusaders fought together for what they believed right.

Like millions of Americans, I read Dick's articles in many of the leading national magazines. We bought some of his books for our oldest boy, Don. He found them fascinating.

Late in 1951 my work with the American Bar Association's Survey of the Legal Profession, with headquarters in Boston, came to a close. Malcolm Bauer, a friend from the days when he was a reporter on the Eugene Register-Guard, was in Cambridge as a Nieman fellow. He told me that Dick Neuberger and Monroe Sweetland were the leading Democratic politicians in Oregon.

I wrote Dick a letter and received a very friendly response. When I returned to Oregon, Dick and Maurine surprised me by having Oregon's leading Democrats over to their home in Portland and all in my honor. Dick's conversation then, as always, showed his wealth of pertinent data, his keen analytical powers, and his deep concern for the people involved.

In 1952, during the Presidential campaign, my law partner in Eugene was forced, by angry Republican clients of his, to sever his connections with me because of an incident involving my public protest about the Vice Presidential Republican candidate and his private fund. This action made Dick Neuberger indignant. He offered his personal assistance as a member of the State legislature.

In 1953, as I was beginning to establish my law practice, Dick decided he would run for the U.S. Senate. It was a gamble, despite the support of his many friends and admirers. The incumbent, Senator Guy Cordon, was no pushover.

That spring my wife, Priscilla, and I were driving back from Portland one day. The discussion turned to how I could help Dick. I had been planning to run for Congress ever since the

eighth grade. That was the year the mortgage was foreclosed on my folk's home and the year I read Lincoln Steffens' autobiography.

Priscilla and I concluded that I could best help DICK by filing for the Fourth District seat, although this was 2 or 4 years ahead of my personal timetable.

DICK and I did a lot of campaigning together. I never stopped admiring his tremendous learning, his quick mind, and his real humility. It was a wonderful apprenticeship for me as a politician.

I lost by 15,000 votes in 1954 but came closer than any Democrat had done in previous contests. DICK won, after 2 days of anxious tallying, by around 2,000 votes, about one vote for every Oregon precinct. Great was the rejoicing. He was the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in 40 years.

When I ran again in 1956 DICK stumped my district and helped me in many ways. This time I won by 4,500 votes, the first Democratic Congressman from southwestern Oregon in 75 years. The help given to me by DICK, by Wayne Morse, and by many others made the difference.

No man ever gave more of himself to his friends than did DICK NEUBERGER. When I came to Washington, D.C., in December of 1956, DICK gave me and my staff working space in his office for 2 weeks prior to the swearing in of the new Congress. It was a typical unselfish gesture for him.

During the rest of the time I was to work with DICK in the Congress for Oregon and the Nation, I came to appreciate his friendship even more.

We kept in close touch by telephone. Sometimes I walked over to the Senate to talk with him or to have lunch. It was a collaboration I enjoyed, greatly valued and will always cherish in my memory.

Three days before DICK was stricken he called me from Portland. We talked for about 20 minutes. He told me he planned to remain in Oregon until after the Easter recess. With real concern, I told him, "Take care of yourself." He

said he would and not to worry and added, as he always did, "Give our love to Priscilla and the children."

Four days after that conversation DICK was dead. He left us a rich heritage of a superb mind and a warm heart. He never thought of himself as a "big shot." He was always willing to grant, "I may be wrong." Service in public office to DICK was a privilege, a duty, and a challenge.

The Lord gave me, and many others, a good friend in DICK NEUBERGER. The example of his life, serves as a standard and an inspiration to all of us who seek to carry on his enlightened devotion to our great Nation and its system of self-government.

Mr. Speaker, if I have been overly personal in these remarks about my friend DICK NEUBERGER, it is because his death was a very personal loss to me. Some people come to Washington to grow, others to swell, according to a well-known adage. DICK grew. His friends were many. I thank God that I was one of them.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and deeply saddened to learn of the sudden passing of one of the Nation's most able and distinguished leaders, the junior Senator from Oregon, RICHARD NEUBERGER.

DICK NEUBERGER came to the Senate of the United States 5 years ago. His training and experience had prepared him well for the arduous task of representing the people and the area he loved so well. With little regard for his own personal health and well-being he worked at his job and now leaves a proud heritage and an enviable record of public service.

DICK NEUBERGER'S life and career was in the great tradition of American liberalism. His was not the doctrinaire, cut-and-dried liberal, but rather an independent, thoughtful human being who felt compassion for his fellow man and a sense of duty for the betterment of his country and the world.

His unfailing support of measures to conserve and protect the Nation's great natural resources places him with the Norrises, La Follettes, and other great Senate fighters and protectors of the public domain. Few men in public life

had so sincere and deep a feeling for the outdoors and America's natural beauty and resources. He did not just talk about the subject, he knew it as well as any man living. His treks long the Lewis and Clark trail and other historic routes in the Pacific Northwest that he loved so much are legendary. He will be sorely missed by us all.

I want to take this opportunity to extend heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Neuberger in this hour of sorrow. We share her grief at the loss of a man of whom it can truly be said, "He walked in the midst of his people."

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing my grief over the passing of Senator NEUBERGER.

I had known DICK NEUBERGER since we were students in college in the early 1930's and I have always considered him to be a good personal friend of mine. While we, of course, belonged to different political parties and, accordingly, our political thinking was dissimilar on many issues, nevertheless, we were able to work together very closely on many of the matters that came before the Congress in the last 6 years affecting the State of Oregon. On a number of occasions we conferred on matters involving our State, introduced legislation thereon, and succeeded in having it favorably enacted.

I want to particularly express my sympathy and sorrow to his widow, Maurine, who was a very devoted wife, and even more so in a true sense of the word a realistic helpmate during his campaign for the U.S. Senate and during the years he served here.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I join in expressing my deep sorrow over the passing of the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. NEUBERGER.

Seldom has any Senator made such a brilliant record of accomplishment during his first term. Senator DICK NEUBERGER was an outstanding writer and one of the foremost students of the history of the Northwest. An ardent conservationist and expert on hydroelectric power projects, he applied all of his many talents to the complex legislative

tasks which confront every Senator. In so doing, he became an outstanding legislator and won the respect and admiration of his colleagues in both the Senate and House of Representatives.

Suddenly afflicted with cancer, Senator NEUBERGER endured extended treatment, and by the courage and persistence which characterized his life, fought his way back to health and again took his place on the floor of the Senate. His writings of his experience with the dread disease gave inspiration to others similarly stricken.

Upon his return to the Senate, Senator NEUBERGER renewed his efforts to step up Federal participation in cancer research activities of the National Institutes of Health to hasten the day when a cure for the disease may be discovered.

He was a man dedicated to the preservation of our priceless resources and was always in the forefront in the fight for sound conservation measures. In every field of legislation in which he participated he was vigilant in his efforts to safeguard the public interest. DICK NEUBERGER will be sorely missed in the crucial days ahead. Mrs. Rhodes joins in extending our deepest sympathy to his devoted wife, Maurine, who so closely shared his political philosophy and his aspirations.

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, the sad and untimely death of my good friend, Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, leaves me with a deep sense of personal loss. It is tragic indeed that one so young, with a past that was great but a future greater still, should be taken from us and that we should be so deprived of his leadership, his wisdom, and his shining courage. My wife, Martha, and I extend to his widow, Maurine, our heartfelt sympathy with awareness, however, that his qualities of greatness will continue to inspire her.

DICK NEUBERGER'S death does not bring a family sorrow alone—there is an unbridgeable void in our lives—our Nation has lost an outstanding statesman, one of her most dedicated

sons; his own State of Oregon, a great Senator; the State of Alaska, a good friend; the people as a whole, a leading exponent of their causes, their hopes, their dreams; the literary world, a voice of conscience and great talent. His voice is silent, his pen is still, but to those of us left behind he bequeathed the inspiration of his high courage and integrity. He was a gentle and kind and tolerant man who believed unerringly in the democratic principles of our Government and unfailingly in the fundamental rights of mankind. He was a true "liberal" in the full sense of the word.

From his early days at the University of Oregon, DICK NEUBERGER could always be found out in front fighting for good causes, regardless of their current unpopularity, or prevailing complacency. He was a man of basic wisdom with the courage of his convictions. He was a champion of the underprivileged, a passionate believer in democracy, a true American.

We in Alaska who have at long last found our place among the society of States will forever be grateful to him for his steadfast support of statehood. He was one of the early advocates of statehood for Alaska and likewise for Hawaii. He would, of course, be such an advocate for he lived by and worked for the ideals he so eloquently expressed. During the construction of the Alaska Highway by the military during World War II, he lived among us, worked with us, wrote about us, understood our endeavors, and left with us an even greater appreciation of our beautiful and bountiful State than we had had before—a richness that stretches before us in a never ending progression. To all of us he brought into sharp focus the problems of the Northwest in such perspective that we cannot but be blind to reality if we do not continue his good fight to preserve for posterity some of that beauty of mountain and stream and forest that was so much a part of RICHARD NEUBERGER, the man; RICHARD NEUBERGER, the American.

While he sleeps peacefully in his beloved Northwest, I should like to think he is doing so beneath stately trees he

loved so much, and in the shadow of towering mountains marked with all their splendor and natural beauty. He has left us poor with his passing, but indeed we are rich for having known him, having worked with him, and having been inspired by him. Our loss, but Heaven's gain.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues across the Nation in expressing my deep sorrow at the death of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, and my sympathy to Maurine Neuberger. The thoughts of Mrs. Reuss and I are truly with her.

DICK NEUBERGER was a remarkable man—a great Senator and statesman, a prolific writer, a man of deep human insight and compassion, a close friend and legislative partner.

It was my privilege to work often with Senator NEUBERGER. No one was more dedicated to the conservation of all our Nation's resources than he, and I was proud to be associated with him in this great cause. He fought wholeheartedly for the interests of the Klamath Indians of Oregon—and when we had some difficulty guarding the interests of the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin, he helped us out, too. In fighting for adequate health and medical research programs, in enacting billboard regulation, in many other endeavors, it was a pleasure to be allied with DICK NEUBERGER.

Most recently, Senator NEUBERGER joined me in introducing a bill looking toward the establishment of a Point 4 Youth Corps, to enable young Americans to serve our country and help the peoples of other nations in technical assistance missions in far-off lands. DICK NEUBERGER's sponsorship of this legislation was typical of his deep interest both in young people and in America, showing to the world our sincere dedication to peace and friendship.

We in the Congress have lost an inspiring friend, and the Nation has lost a brilliant son.

Memorial Tributes
to
Richard L. Neuberger

Memorial Tributes

Remarks by Senator Morse

Of Oregon

Mr. President, a very wonderful citizen of our State, Mr. Charles J. Hess, has written a beautiful and moving poem as a tribute to my late colleague, Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. I consider it a privilege and an honor to ask unanimous consent that this memorial be printed at this point in my remarks.

SENATOR RICHARD NEUBERGER

Suddenly, as falls a shooting star,
Death it lingered ever near;
Knowing those who survive, who are
Waiting for a silent bier.

He went so quickly and so soon,
His task had just begun;
His life was only at its noon
But now the setting sun.

DICK, he loved the poor and weak,
Aid and succor was ne'er denied;
Hate and envy walked behind him,
Love and friendship walked beside.

His many deeds can now be told,
How surely he pointed the way;
A brighter life, for man unborn,
His he gave for a brighter day.

The morning's sun is slowly rising,
O'er Mt. Hood's snowy crest;
A pathway upward is ever leading
To a refuge of peace and rest.

Cruel death rides on every breeze,
He hides in the petals of every flower;
None that live, but yet he sees
Awaiting him, on the coming morrow.

Beneath the sod he is now sleeping,
The dewy shades of eve'n creep;
The North Wind will be lamenting
Along with those, who mourn and weep.

May his life be as a pattern,
And our faults we will atone;
May our heritage be a blessing
As he sleeps, lonely and alone.

As we grieve his untimely passing,
A seat midst the mighty he's won;
The verdict of the powers of the heavens
Thy stewardship rendered—"Well done."

—*Chas. J. Hess.*

Mr. President, some time ago I introduced a bill which proposed to name the John Day Dam in the State of Oregon after my late colleague, Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER. The Record will show that I introduced the bill as a result of the unanimous action taken by the executive committee of the Democratic Party of the State of Oregon.

I have before me a very thoughtful editorial entitled "Neuberger Memorial," written by the editor of the Oregon Statesman. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed:

[From the Oregon Statesman, Mar. 20, 1960]

NEUBERGER MEMORIAL

Quite a rush of Members of Congress to attach the name of the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER to some geographical feature. Senator Morse would have the new John Day Dam named for him. Representative Norblad proposes applying his name to the Green Peter Dam in the Willamette Basin project. Senators Mansfield and Kuchel would name the proposed Seashore Recreation Area for the late Oregon Senator.

The last seems to the Statesman to be most appropriate. It was the project which he was promoting, mostly all alone, and is of a scale more significant than Green Peter Dam which is on a fork of a fork of a branch of the Willamette. Many others had a hand in promoting the John Day Dam, and anyway this name has real meaning in Oregon history, and may well be retained. John Day was a member of Astor's overland party headed by Wilson Price Hunt. Day and Ramsay Crooks of the party fell behind the others in the Snake River country, but managed to work their way to and

down the Columbia. Near the mouth of the John Day River Indians met and robbed them, even of their clothes. They were rescued by Robert Stuart's party which was coming down the Columbia. The name has been given to the dam because of its proximity to the mouth of the river which bears Day's name. It should be retained. We hope Congress settles on the dunes area seashore park as the Neuberger memorial.

The editorial points out that the Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield] and the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] have introduced a bill to create a seashore recreation area in my State, which it has proposed to call the Sand Dunes National Park, but which their bill provides should be named in memory of the late Senator NEUBERGER.

The editorial also states that a proposal has been made to name Green Peter Dam in memory of Senator NEUBERGER.

The writer of the editorial takes the position that the most appropriate memorial would be the Sand Dunes Park, if established. I, too, think that that would be an appropriate memorial. I believe there is great merit in the reasoning of the editor of the Oregon Statesman that neither the name of Green Peter Dam nor of John Day Dam should be changed. However, I am interested in having a suitable memorial named in honor of my late colleague.

I am satisfied that any one of the three projects mentioned would certainly be suitable, although, as I have said, I believe there is considerable merit in the suggestion that the names of Green Peter Dam and John Day Dam remain unchanged. Nevertheless, I shall continue to ask for the consideration of my bill, because once it is under consideration, then the whole question as to how it should be amended, if at all, can be acted upon by the committee.

I simply wish to comment, though, that the Sand Dunes Park has not yet been created. There is considerable controversy in my State with respect to its creation. In my judgment, the bill as introduced by the Senator from Montana and the Senator from California is in need of amendment. I shall offer an amendment to the bill along the very lines I discussed with constituents in Florence, Oreg., last Wednes-

day. In Florence, I discussed with the two sides to this controversy in that part of my State the pros and cons of the issue.

The most troublesome matter connected with the creation of a Federal national park in the area to be known as the Sand Dunes Park involves the matter of private homes which are at present in the area which would be turned into the park, and the fear of the owners of those homes that the Secretary of the Interior would be given condemnation power over them—and he certainly would, under the language of the Mansfield-Kuchel bill.

I have discussed this matter before. I have also discussed the problem with the national park officials. It does not follow, as I said in Florence the other day, that the objective of a park in any way will be injured or diminished if the owners of those homes are permitted to continue to own them. When the debate on this matter opens, and my amendment has been offered, I shall cite precedents to show that there already are national parks within which there has been a retention of private property rights on the part of some private property owners.

If the Sand Dunes Park shall be established—and I hope it will be, but only after the adoption of amendments which will prevent the doing of wrong to private property owners in the area—I certainly would have no objection to its being named the Richard Lewis Neuberger Park. But there is one person whose judgment, in my opinion, ought to be given great weight in this matter—and, so far as I am concerned, the controlling weight. That is Mrs. Neuberger, the wife of my late colleague. So far as I am concerned, I serve notice today that her judgment will be my judgment in regard to this particular matter.

I point out to the editor of the Salem, Oreg., Statesman, that I do not believe there should be any pressing for the naming of a park after my late colleague when that park has not yet been created, and the use of that proposal to the slightest extent whatsoever as an inducement for creating the park.

There are many other places which can be named as memorials to my late colleague. But when the Sand Dunes Park is created, if it is created—and I hope it will be, provided the protection to the private property owners to whom I have referred is given—then my judgment would be controlled by the judgment of Mrs. Neuberger as to whether or not she would prefer that that park be named after her late husband, or that the name of John Day Dam or of Green Peter Dam be changed, or that some wilderness area in the State of Oregon be named after my late colleague.

On the last point, there are many places which would be exceptionally suitable to be named as memorials to the late Senator NEUBERGER. I cannot think of any memorial which would be more suitable than to name after him some large wilderness area, because I do not know of anyone who has fought harder, not only in my State, but in the entire country, for the development, the protection, and the creation of new wilderness areas.

Mr. President, in the April issue of Retirement Life, the publication of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees, there is printed the text of a resolution, adopted by its executive committee, commemorating the services in the Senate of my late colleague, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed at this point:

At a meeting of the executive committee of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees on March 14 at Washington, D.C., the following resolution was proposed:

"Whereas the more than 100,500 members of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees were shocked to learn of the sudden death on March 9 of the Honorable RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, Senator from Oregon; and

"Whereas we regarded him as one of the ablest Members of the U.S. Senate; and

"Whereas his outstanding and objective consideration of major legislation for the welfare of all citizens of this country demonstrated his high degree of intelligence and his sincere Americanism, and his passing is a great loss to our country; and

"Whereas his special, his continued, and his very deep interest in the welfare of all civil service retirees warranted our deep appreciation: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the officers and members of this association express sincere and deep sympathy to his widow, Mrs. Maurine Neuberger, to his father and mother, and the other members of his family; furthermore be it

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Neuberger and to the members of his family, and that it be published in the April issue of Retirement Life."

Mr. President, there appeared in the Government Standard of March 18, 1960, an article entitled "Neuberger's Death Loss to Employees."

I ask unanimous consent that this article, on the late Senator NEUBERGER, be printed as follows:

NEUBERGER'S DEATH LOSS TO EMPLOYEES—SERVED ON CS UNIT

Government employees lost a true friend and staunch legislative supporter last week with the death of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER.

Senator NEUBERGER died in Portland, Oreg., of a cerebral hemorrhage. He was 47.

As a member of the Civil Service Committee, the Oregon Democrat was in the forefront of activity on Federal employee legislation. Last year he headed the subcommittee that handled Federal employee health insurance legislation and the bill that ultimately became law was cosponsored by him and Senator Olin Johnston, chairman of the full Civil Service Committee.

Senator NEUBERGER'S deep interest in health legislation was considered one of the key factors in enactment of the employee insurance program after similar legislation had been stymied for a number of years. At the time of his death Senator NEUBERGER was pressing for enactment of health benefits legislation to cover already retired Federal employees.

The Oregon lawmaker also played a key role in the 1958 pay campaign that resulted in a 10-percent increase for Government workers. He was chairman of the subcommittee that handled the pay proposals.

Earlier this year Senator NEUBERGER wrote Civil Service Committee Chairman Roger Jones urging the administration to support pay increases for Federal classified and postal workers. He said that in the light of its role in negotiating a pay hike for the steelworkers, the administration should back an increase for its own employees.

Senator NEUBERGER often pointed out to his constituents the fine job done by Government workers. In his final newsletter to Oregon voters was an item titled "High Quality of Our United States Employees."

Senator NEUBERGER had recently announced that he would seek a second term. His freshman term in the Senate was due to expire at the close of this year.

The Oregon Democrat underwent a cancer operation in 1958. The surgery was successful, but a number of unrelated illnesses followed. The Senator said he would seek a second term after he was pronounced fit to run following a series of medical examinations.

Senator NEUBERGER was the first Democratic Senator elected in Oregon in 40 years. He had served on the Civil Service Committee since coming to the Senate in 1954.

He entered politics in 1941 when he won election to a 2-year term in the Oregon House of Representatives. In 1949 he was elected to the State senate, serving there until 1954 when he won a seat in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. President, I have received a letter from Mr. Herman T. F. Lum, clerk of the House of Representatives of the First Legislature of the State of Hawaii, transmitting a resolution expressing heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Richard L. Neuberger and the people of the State of Oregon upon the untimely death of my colleague, Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter and resolution be printed as follows:

THE FIRST LEGISLATURE,
STATE OF HAWAII,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Honolulu, Hawaii, March 10, 1960.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senator, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I transmit herewith certified copy of House Resolution 60, which was adopted by the First Legislature of the State of Hawaii in budget session, 1960.

Very respectfully,

HERMAN T. F. LUM,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

H. RES. 60

Whereas the passing of the Honorable RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, U.S. Senator from the sister State of Oregon, is an immeasurable loss

to the welfare of all mankind in these days of tension, misunderstanding, and selfish opportunism; and

Whereas Senator NEUBERGER was a ray of hope to those who would not accept the cynical view that man's inhumanity to man was the destiny of man, but who have faith that poverty, bigotry, hypocrisy, and other forms of human shortcomings can be eliminated; and

Whereas the dedicated spirit of Senator NEUBERGER to the perpetuation of truth and better social, economic, and political conditions for all mankind in a free world can well be emulated by public servants throughout the world; and

Whereas the passing of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an extremely great loss to the people of Hawaii who lost a friend who championed the cause of statehood which made first-class citizens of the people of Hawaii; and

Whereas there are no words which can lessen the grief to the Nation and his family: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the First Legislature of the State of Hawaii, budget session of 1960, That it express its heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Richard L. Neuberger and the people of Oregon; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Richard L. Neuberger, U.S. Senator Wayne Morse, the Governor of the State of Oregon, the president of the State Senate of Oregon, and the speaker of the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, forthwith.

Mr. President, I have received a telegram from the executive board of the Democratic Party of Oregon, which reads as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *March 16, 1960.*

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

The executive board of the Democratic Party of Oregon respectfully requests that the John Day Dam on the main stem of the Columbia River be renamed for the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. Our best to you and Mrs. Morse.

Chairman Robert Straub, Vice Chairman Beulah Hand, Secretary Lloyd Rea, Treasurer Erma Lindquist, Ruth Renfroe, Oscar Kendall, Lyndon Martin, Frank Roberts, Mildred Russell, Dan Dimick, Cornelius Bateson, Dewey Rand, Sr.

Mr. President, in the never-to-be-forgotten senatorial campaign of 1954, DICK NEUBERGER and I campaigned together

across the State of Oregon. I made more than 150 speeches in behalf of his candidacy in that year. One of the promises which we made to the people of the State of Oregon was that we would do everything we could to have a start made on a dam which has become known as the John Day Dam.

In 1956, the President's budget proposed $500,000 for planning money. We fought hard in the Senate and in the House, and with the asistance of our Democratic colleagues from the State of Washington, we raised the figure to $550,000.

In 1957, we proposed $1,500,000, but we could not get that large a sum. We got $1,450,000.

The 1958 administration budget contained not a red cent for John Day Dam. Again, the Democrats of the Oregon and Washington delegations, working together, got $1 million in appropriations for John Day.

In 1959, once construction was started, the administration, at long last, recommended a substantial sum, this time $8 million, which was appropriated.

For fiscal 1960, $20 million was recommended by the administration, and $20 million was appropriated.

Now the administration, in this election year, proposes $41,800,000, which I hope will be the minimum to be appropriated for this purpose.

I have mentioned these figures because DICK NEUBERGER joined with us each year in our appropriation battles to get these funds for John Day Dam.

Mr. President, I have also received a letter from the vice chairman of the Democratic Party in Oregon, and a member of the House of Representatives of the Oregon State Legislature, Mrs. Beulah Hand, urging that I introduce this bill asking that the John Day Dam be named the RICHARD L. NEUBERGER Dam. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed at this point:

SALEM, OREG., *March 12, 1960.*

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER has taken his place among the immortals of resource conservation. He now is

in the company of George Norris, Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, and Bernard DeVoto, his teachers whom he revered.

Senator NEUBERGER's effective and inspired work in the development and conservation of our natural resources deserves a lasting tribute.

In honor of our great Senator I feel that John Day Dam, now under construction on the Columbia River, be named NEUBERGER Dam. It was through the efforts of Senator NEUBERGER, along with Senators Morse, Jackson, Magnuson, and others that this dam was started. It is only fitting that the dam be named for a man who devoted his life to his State and Nation.

Sincerely,

BEULAH HAND,
State Representative.

Remarks by Senator Johnson

Of Texas

Mr. President, on March 13 a group of our colleagues attended the memorial services for the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER in Portland, Oreg.

It was a moving service, one that was in keeping with the high character and the simple directness of our late colleague. Those who were present spoke of the tremendous work that DICK NEUBERGER had done for his country. They listed his many accomplishments and his dedication to the service of his fellow men. I ask unanimous consent that the transcribed text of the memorial service be printed in memory of our colleague:

MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR THE LATE SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, OF OREGON

Memorial services for the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER of Oregon were held Sunday, March 13, 1960, at Temple Beth Israel, in Portland, Oreg., with Rabbi Emanuel Rose officiating. Members of the committee of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives attending the services were the senior Senator from Texas, Mr. Johnson; the senior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Morse; the senior Senator from Illinois, Mr. Douglas; the senior Senator from Idaho, Mr. Dworshak; the junior Senator from Washington, Mr. Jackson; the junior Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Morton; the junior Senator from Idaho, Mr. Church; the junior Senator from Texas, Mr. Yarborough; the senior Senator from Alaska, Mr. Bartlett; the junior Senator from Alaska, Mr. Gruening; the junior Senator from Wyoming, Mr. McGee; Representative Henry S. Reuss, of Wisconsin; Representatives Walter Norblad, Edith Green, Charles O. Porter, and Al Ullman, all of Oregon. Also attending were Mesdames Church, Bartlett, and McGee.

Memorial addresses were delivered by Rabbi Emanuel Rose of Temple Beth Israel, the Honorable Mark O. Hatfield, Governor of the State of Oregon; the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, U.S. Senator from the State of Texas and majority leader of the U.S. Senate; the Honorable Robert D. Holmes, former Governor of the State of Oregon; the Honorable E. Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of

the Denver Post of Denver, Colo.; the Honorable William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; the Honorable Paul H. Douglas, U.S. Senator from the State of Illinois; the Honorable Ernest Gruening, U.S. Senator from the State of Alaska; Dr. Richard M. Steiner, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Portland, Oreg. Transcribed text of the ceremonies follows:

Rabbi Emanuel Rose: "Oh, God, who are our master of life and death, we know how limited is our wisdom, how short our vision. One by one the children of men passing along the road of life disappear from our view. We know that each of us must walk the same path to the doorway of the grave. We strain our eyes to see what lies beyond the gate, but all is darkness to our mortal sight. For Thee, oh God, the night shineth as the day, the darkness is even as the light. Into Thy gracious hands we commit the spirits of our dear ones who are gone from this earth, assured that Thou keepest faith with Thy children in death as in life. Sustain us, oh God, that we may meet with calm serenity the dark mysteries that lie ahead, knowing that when we walk through the valley of the shadow Thou art with us, Thou art our loving Father, and in Thee do we put our trust.

" 'The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want. He makest me to lie down in green pastures, He leadth me beside the still waters, He restoreth my soul, He guideth me in straight paths for His name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me. Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies, Thou hast anointed my head with oil, my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord, forever.'

"Early one morn I had an interview with death. The place, a lonely dell where winter lingered and swathed in snow. In the sky a waning moon, one last star paling, prophetic of the dawn. A spirit prompted me to hail this heartless being. Said I in accents strained, as if to keep my courage up, 'Death of thee no one speaks well. Thy tread, though soft and silent, makes firesides tremble, and in thy presence, flowers die. No gleeful child is safe from thy all-withering touch, no parent dost thou spare, no lovers weaving life's threads of hope into fancies colored green. No saint in humble prayer. Why not content thyself with beasts of prey, why devastate our homes, oh death? I wish that thou were dead.' And then Death replied, and filled me with amaze. His voice was even mild and sweet, and through the gloom I saw suggestion of a smile. 'I am God's servant, as thou art,' he said. 'The flock must be gathered home. I am sent to bring the wandering to their fold. I give to weary feet the gift of rest.' But I asked, 'Might not some

brighter messenger be sent—an angel with music in his voice and laughter in his eyes? His coming would be welcome as to birds the coming spring, or opening day. Thou dost alarm us so, and make us die so often, dying once. If one we knew full well might come.' 'I understand you well,' said Death, 'but this grimness thou alone dost see. The living never see me as I am. Only the dying see death. What life is to the living, death is to the dead. I am a mask. The angel thou hath asked for is behind. Sometimes 'tis sainted mother, sometimes sainted father, sometimes parted lover. Only to the living seem I what I'm not. No more revile me, I am thy friend in disguise.'

"Dear friends, our rabbis, many centuries ago sought to select the most meaningful character quality of man, and one of the phrases which they selected was a good name. Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER had a good name, and testimony to this, not only his family, but the citizens of our Nation, also mourn his passing, and testimony to his good name. We are honored to have in our presence today a number of men who worked with him. The Honorable Mark O. Hatfield, Governor of the State of Oregon."

Governor Hatfield: "Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER utilized every ounce of energy and strength to advance his beliefs, whether in the spoken or written words. He was well on his way to becoming one of the foremost authors of our time, when public service began taking more and more of his time; first as a State representative, then as a member of the armed services, later, in the State senate, and finally, in the Senate of the United States. During my service in the State legislature, it was an educational experience to work with DICK NEUBERGER as he advocated, pleaded, implored, beseeched, and pressed fully for legislation in which he believed. He had a handful of members of his party from a period in their history when their senate caucus numbered four, until a majority was attained shortly after his elevation to the Nation's Capital. Equipped with a brilliant intellect, DICK NEUBERGER fought the status quo. He ceaselessly, restlessly wanted to move forward, to do more for his people, to leave them a legacy of carefully husbanded natural resources, a future as bright as that which our pioneer predecessors envisioned. Even as he was held high in the esteem by those with whom he associated, so he extolled the memory of those he emulated. Similarly, one of those he admired most, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, also won out over almost insurmountable odds of an earlier dread disease, but was struck down by a like attack. Each had work yet to do, each had plans not yet fulfilled, and yet another parallel exists. Both were aided immeasurably by an able wife, who had developed complementary talents in her own right over the years. And even as Mrs. Roosevelt today is an elder stateswoman, so do I predict Mrs. Neuberger

will contribute much to the society in the years ahead. As Governor of the State of Oregon, as a former State legislative colleague, I acknowledge with deep gratitude this afternoon the lasting contributions Senator NEUBERGER made to this State and to the Nation. He grew tall to match our forests, he saw to the horizons as from our mountaintops, he spoke with the eloquence of his writings, he shared himself with us, he spared himself not. He was our faithful servant, may he rest in peace."

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, U.S. Senator from the State of Texas and majority leader of the U.S. Senate: "Rabbi Rose, Governor Hatfield, Justice Douglas, my colleagues, fellow Americans, Mrs. Johnson and I were shocked and saddened when we learned of Senator NEUBERGER's untimely death. My colleagues and I have flown across the country, 2,400 miles today, in order to share the privilege of joining all of you in paying tribute to one of the great Americans of our time. DICK NEUBERGER was my devoted friend. I might add that it was a mutual friendship. He was never afraid to be on any unpopular side once he was convinced that this course of action was in the best interests of the country he loved so much. He was an impeccably honest public servant. I think he was the truest and most genuine liberal I have ever known. Sham and hypocrisy, and demagoguery were foreign to his nature. He was a great humanitarian. He loved people—all the people, but particularly little people. He fought their battles, he bled for them, he stayed awake at night attempting to devise means to improve their lives. It mattered not whether it was the postman who bore the burden of a mailsack on his back, or the widowed clerk who needed health insurance. He was a dedicated conservationist, he was a lover of the beauties of nature.

"His career in the U.S. Senate was entirely too short. He was loved and respected by Democrats and Republicans, as attested by their presence here today. During 30 years of service in the Nation's Capital, I have never heard as many eloquent eulogies at those paid to DICK NEUBERGER by his colleagues in the Senate last week and I have never known them to be more deserved. My life has been enriched as a consequence of my very brief association with him. DICK NEUBERGER was constantly reaching out, searching for legislation that would make a better world for all citizens, irrespective of their nationality, their race, their religion, their color, or their creed. He was chiefly responsible for the elimination of unsightly billboards from our Interstate Highway System. No Senator has ever worked harder to secure adequate appropriations for research in cancer, and heart, and the other dread diseases. And some of us are here today because of efforts of DICK NEUBERGER and men like him. Because of his leadership, because of his in-

spiration, because of his noble fight, the battle to end these disease killers will go forward with greater impetus and with a more determined dedication. And we who are left will pick up that flag that he had to drop.

"I have never known a man that was more devoted to his lovely wife, Maurine, or one who received more inspiration from their helpmate than DICK did from Maurine. I have always heard that it took two great women to make one good man, and I have been enriched by the privilege of seeing his lovely Maurine today and meeting his wonderful mother. I have never seen a team that was more dedicated or more effective. They seemed always to know where the ball was and they knew how to carry it together. Oregon has lost a great son; Maurine has lost a devoted husband; Mr. and Mrs. Neuberger have lost a proud child. Yet I know all of you will go forward with greater determination so that we can truly say that he did not die in vain. The Northwest, the Nation, the free world, I am confident history will record are much better because DICK NEUBERGER came our way."

The Honorable Robert D. Holmes, former Governor of the State of Oregon: "With real humility I am privileged to share with you today some observations of DICK NEUBERGER'S great service as a State senator, speaking in behalf of all of those of us who served with him. His work in this capacity, as well as all of his work, was monumental, an enormous fund of information, his vision about necessary reforms, his ability as a speaker and debater, and his inherent know-how in the art of politics, his absolutely unlimited capacity for work—all contributed, I think, to the passage of some of the most important State legislation in two decades: fair employment practices, Portland State College, reapportionment. A list of the many accomplishments that began with DICK'S ideas would be endless. And much more such legislation that started with one of his ideas will certainly be enacted in later years because of his vision. Always, as a State senator, a member of the minority, he somehow always could provide the ideas, and to drive and to marshal our forces so effectively, that it finally helped lead to majority status. The opposition always respected him. I think perhaps they feared him. He was their conscience. Had DICK NEUBERGER never been privileged to serve in the U.S. Senate, our State of Oregon would still owe him a great debt and great homage for his contributions to our social progress in this State. It was a privilege to serve with him, it was an even greater privilege to call him friend."

E. Palmer Hoyt, editor of the Denver Post and former editor of the Oregonian: "DICK NEUBERGER was many different things to many people but he never tried to be all things to all people. DICK was,

in my judgment, a true liberal in the classic sense. He was completely dedicated to making democracy work. I knew DICK in different ways than many people. I knew him as a newspaperman, a writer, and a personal friend. He was, if you please, a protege of mine, in his early years. Remarkably enough, we both survived that relationship and became fast and firm friends. I well remember my first official contact with DICK NEUBERGER. He had been hired in the early thirties as a cub reporter in the sports department of the Oregonian. Came a Monday when most of the sports department reporters had a day off. Came the first edition, then out at 7 p.m. The sports pages showed some radical changes. Radical changes at that time were not easily tolerated in the Oregonian. These radical changes were called to my attention. I asked for Gregory, McCloud, Buck, Buxton, Bostwick. I asked, 'Who is in charge?' I was told 'NEUBERGER.' I said, 'Who is NEUBERGER?' 'The new cub reporter in sports,' I was informed. I sent for DICK and discovered a bright young man, who from then on occupied a part of my heart, and I must say of my attention, too. DICK NEUBERGER set at the feet of many men. Some of these men lived in return to sit at his feet. DICK in his youth was a hero worshipper. Among his heroes were Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator George Norris, William O. Douglas, Bernie Baruch, Senator Lehman, Senator Borah, Senator Bert Wheeler, to name a few. DICK had the faculty, while still in his teens, of making friends in high places. Probably the greatest shock ever to be experienced by the Democratic heirarchy of Oregon was in 1932 when they learned that Mr. Roosevelt was getting his political dope on Oregon, not from the national committeeman, not from the State chairman, but from phone calls to young DICK NEUBERGER, age 19. DICK was curious but not contentious. We disagreed on many things but always disagreed intelligently. DICK was essentially a man of good will. It always troubled him deeply that men should hate him. DICK was a smart political campaigner but with solid techniques inborn. As in his campaign for the U.S. senatorship in 1954, there were many reasons why he scored one of the great upsets of Oregon's political history, but one reason was that he put a picture of Hells Canyon Dam in the front room of every home in a public power State. DICK NEUBERGER deserves this tribute. The world is a better place because he lived in it."

The Honorable William O. Douglas, Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court: "Rabbi Rose, friends of DICK NEUBERGER, those of us who just arrived from Washington dropped by DICK's house a few moments ago to see his parents, to see Maurine, to extend to them our deepest sympathies, and Maurine suggested that perhaps we would like to see DICK's study. And so the few things that I have to say to you are things that came flooding back to me a few

minutes ago when I was in DICK'S study because there on the walls were some wonderful photographs of mountain trips that DICK and I had taken together. I knew DICK when he was just out of the University of Oregon, a young newspaperman, and that was the beginning of a very warm and enduring friendship. All of us who have lived in the Northwest and call this our home have a special debt to DICK because he translated this great Northwest to all the peoples of America, telling them about its wonders and its mysteries; about its waterfalls and its people; about its forests, and its problems, and its cattle and sheep. And a bit more, I suppose, than any person in American history, to bring to the attention of the Nation at large the great potential of a particular area of the United States. These trips that DICK and I had together in the mountains were sometimes written up by him. Sometimes little paragraphs appeared in his books and articles, but mostly they were hours and days of relaxation. The days, the hours we spent floating the McKenzie here in Oregon, the days we spent on the high trails in the Wallowas and in the Cascades—those were very rich experiences for both of us.

"DICK had a real passion, I think, for the soil and the trees and the grass, and the rivers and the mountains of America. DICK had a real passion, I think, for the wilderness of America and the wildlife in America—the birds, the geese, the ducks, the deer, the beaver, the fish, the coyotes—the great community that makes up life. He knew how empty America would be if we ended up our destructive practices with nothing but people left, because man needs these creatures of the wilderness to live a full life.

"And I suppose that there was no greater passion in DICK'S life than the preservation of the wilderness and his wilderness bill that he nurtured before the Senate, and the long hearings that he attended and conducted. I don't suppose that there is any living American who has done more to inculcate into the minds of this generation and the oncoming generation the need for conservation, the need for preservation of the richness in the woods, in the lakes, and the streams and the meadows of America.

"So I think, this afternoon, as I thought when I saw those wonderful pictures in DICK'S study a few minutes ago, that he had probably done more to impress upon all of us in this time that we are merely life tenants here, and that we should pass on some of the greatness of the wilderness of America to those who come behind.

"And I think that if we do end up with bits of wilderness that we can pass on to our sons and our grandsons and granddaughters, that we will owe it in very large measure to the great American who passed this way, who came out from Oregon to tell the world and America about the greatness of this wonderful region."

The Honorable Paul Douglas, Senator from the State of Illinois: "Friends, you in Oregon and the Pacific Northwest have known, admired and loved DICK NEUBERGER for many years, but until 1955 we in the Senate, with the exception of Ernest Gruening, had in the East only known him from afar as a penetrating writer upon the history, the outdoors, and the social and political movements of the Northwest. During these last 5 years, however, he won for himself universal respect, general admiration, and wide friendship, while there were many of us who really loved him, and when I speak of DICK, I, of course, speak of Maurine as well, for the two were indeed one. As Justice Douglas has said, DICK loved the striking places of natural beauty in this country, of which this region contains so many. The majestic mountains—some of them snowclad—the fertile valleys, the green forests, the swift flowing rivers, and even the tawny deserts. He wanted these preserved in their beauty for the use of the people of the United States and to prevent them from being defiled, debased, or exploited. If the roadsides of the great highways of America are protected from becoming canyons of defacing billboards, he will have affected it. If great forests are preserved, he will have helped. And if some of the beauty of our ocean and lake shoreline is saved, his labors will have helped. If the rushing waters of your magnificent rivers turn increasingly the turbines which bring production, employment and well-being to the people of the Northwest, his voice and pen will have played an honored and important part. But DICK also had a deep feeling for people, and he was anxious to help the poor, the sick, the old, the weak, and yet in doing so he was scrupulously fair to the strong.

"His close brush with death 18 months ago made him even more compassionate, if that was possible, and at the same time anxious to lift the curse of cancer from mankind. As a true outdoorsman should, DICK had also a basic and fundamental feeling for freedom: for freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of assemblage. He believed in a wide diffusion of both economic and political power so that all men may have enough power to be secure, and yet none may have so much as to threaten the liberty of others.

"DICK, as we all know, had also an extraordinarily able and analytical mind; and having literary skill, he was certainly one of the most gifted writers of our time. To this he added never-ceasing industry, and unfailing personal kindness and courtesy. As I have said, DICK had a scrupulous sense of fairness. To opponents, to people who differed with him, to the man on the street, he was ethical, indeed fastidiously ethical, in his private and in his public life. He was in fact everything that a man should be and, to my mind, everything that a Senator should be. The country has suf-

fered a loss which we can ill afford to bear. It seems cruel to lose him at an age while the arc of his abilities was still rising. But DICK's life proved the aptness of old Ben Johnson's line, 'And in short measure life may perfect be.' Like many others in these last difficult months, I have pondered about the relative balance of good and evil in human life, and of the comparative strength of love and hate. There is certainly much good in man, but whether there is enough good to save him from ultimate destruction, may indeed be questionable.

"But whatever the final result, the struggle is worth making, and DICK's example will give us courage on the way. And if by chance or by divine providence, or by the structure of biological and physical life itself, the cause of human brotherhood should ultimately triumph—which it may not do—he will have had an honorable and important part in its achievement. The State of Oregon can indeed be proud for having given such a noble son to the Nation."

The Honorable Ernest Gruening, U.S. Senator from the State of Alaska: "Friends of DICK and Maurine Neuberger, it's really difficult to speak of DICK in the past tense. Not only was he such an alive and vivid personality, so keenly interested in the many worthy, all good, deserving causes in which he was enlisted, but the really important thing is he does live on, he lives on in a great variety of activities: some of which he saw fulfilled, some of which he started on their way, and which will carry on and will be monuments to him—not that he wanted that type of monument—but because the community, the State, the Nation, will be all the better for their ultimate realization.

"I think I have known DICK NEUBERGER perhaps longer than any other Member of the Senate, unless he was an Oregonian, and my first encounter with DICK, I think, was very characteristic of him. It was in the late summer of 1933. He had been to Europe. He had been to Germany. Adolf Hitler had come to power a few months before and very little of what had really transpired under this totalitarian regime had reached the outside world and the American people. In fact the word had been brought back by a few superficial commentators that Germany had awakened from a period of doldrums, it was on the march forward, and that on balance what had happened was beneficial. DICK, as a great journalist, when he got through as to what was going on in Germany, left the beaten path to which tourists were directed, and he went out and saw for himself the horror and the brutality and the ruthlessness of national Socialist Germany under Adolf Hitler. And when he came back to New York in August of 1933, he came into the office of the Nation, to which he had been a subscriber, thinking

that we might be interested and told me what he had seen, and I asked him to write it. And it appeared at that time, and it was the first realistic article that told the truth about what was going on. It had tremendous effect—had effect on all journalism and all the reporting—because here was the clear record of the ruthlessness and the horror that was going on, and that was being concealed from the world by censorship.

"Now this episode was typical of DICK, in that he turned everything that he saw and everything he experienced to good use, to public use. Throughout the years everything that he did, when he went outdoors as Justice Douglas has told us, when he enjoyed his mountain climbs, when he enjoyed swimming in lakes—that simulated in him the desire that others could enjoy these things and enjoy them in perpetuity. Never has the great outdoors, never has the inherited beauty, the primitive beauty of America had such a stanch defender, and if it is perpetuated it will be largely due to the energy, to the enthusiasm, and to the message of DICK NEUBERGER. And you can carry this through all his activities. He wasn't merely interested in nature. There was no subject that didn't interest him. You heard our majority leader say to you that in all his long experience he never heard tributes to a departed Senator which were so sincere, so devoted, so moving, as those which were paid to DICK—and he knows.

"And I think it is particularly striking in that there was very little time for preparation. The morning paper in Washington did not carry the news of DICK's death. It came over the radio. And when the Senators came to an early session of the Senate, they were not prepared but they spoke spontaneously, and they spoke from the heart. And though my experience is very brief in the Senate, I think I would like to say in the presence of my colleagues that it is my belief that no Senator ever accomplished so much in his first and single term as did DICK NEUBERGER. There is a tradition which we all know about that freshmen Senators are supposed to be seen and not heard for a long time, and are not supposed to speak very often. DICK didn't adhere to that. He was so full of the things he believed in, that he spoke early. And I think if anybody has shattered that tradition, and perhaps shattered it well and wisely, it was DICK NEUBERGER, because people listened to him, and he had something to say on every subject.

"He has left a great legacy, long before he came to the Senate, when he started on his writing career. And if you recall the many articles that he had written in every type of magazine, magazines of wide circulation, such as the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's, magazines of limited circulation appearing to special audiences, all kinds of obscure magazines, but never did he write anything that didn't contain a kernel of great truth; something that

hadn't been discovered before; a new, fresh point of view; a new and keen analysis that was constructive, and that left a thinking reader, who hadn't thought about these things before. In a foreword of one of the books which is a part of DICK's great legacy, a book entitled 'Integrity,' the life of George W. Norris, whom DICK admired greatly, and whom he greatly resembled, in the beginning of that book is a quotation from a speech which Franklin Delano Roosevelt made in behalf of George Norris in which he said we should remember that the ultimate analysis of history asks these questions: 'Did the man have integrity, did the man have unselfishness, did the man have courage, did the man have consistency?' And he went on to say, 'If the individual under the scrutiny of the historic microscope measures up to an affirmative answer to these questions, then history has set him down as great indeed in the pages of all the years to come'.

"He, of course, applied that to George Norris. I tell you my friends it applies in no less degree to RICHARD NEUBERGER. He had integrity, he had unselfishness. I can think of no man who had it to a greater degree. He was always thoughtful and considerate of others. Even in the great rush and bustle, and the pressures which we are under, I never knew DICK not to pause and stop to perform some kindly act, utter some kindly word, to do some generous gesture for his fellow men; and that just as much for those with whom he differed politically. He was able to differ politically and leave everybody feeling friendlier and better than ever before. Did he have courage? He had the courage of a lion. He fought unceasingly for the many things that he believed in.

"As Paul Douglas has said, all the freedoms, the basic freedoms, with an independence of thought, and a perspicacity that brought those freedoms home in lots of new ways. Today there are millions of people who are the better because DICK NEUBERGER served in the Senate. All the Federal employees today have health insurance because of a bill that he sponsored and pushed through to completion.

"Unfinished, but soon finished, will be a similar bill I trust for all those retirees who could not get this insurance under the ordinary procedures and the ordinary channels. And the thing that must make you lift up your hearts, I say to you, is that DICK NEUBERGER's work goes on. It's permanent, it's constructive.

"He died last week, and if he had lived longer, he could have done many more things, but he has done more in his short life than very few men can accomplish in a much longer life. Oregon, the Nation, and the world, are infinitely better for his being there."

Dr. Richard M. Steiner of the First Unitarian Church of Portland: "It is for me a great honor to have been asked to pay the final tribute at this hour to the life and influence of RICHARD L. NEU-

BERGER. We were friends, but not intimates. He sometimes came to me for advice—more often I offered it unsolicited, which he took with good nature albeit not always following it, for DICK could sift the wheat from the chaff. I recall vividly one piece of advice I gave him which, had he followed it, would have robbed our State and Nation of a great public servant. He came to me in 1948, I think, to ask my opinion about the advisability of running that year for Governor or for U.S. Senator. I told him I thought it unwise, not only for him to run in 1948 but for some years to come. Fortunately for our State and the Nation, he did not heed my advice. Instead, he ran for the Senate in 1954 and was victorious in that race. He was a driven man, with the blood and fire of the prophets in his veins.

"To him freedom was more than a word; it was something to be achieved and cherished. It was something for which he felt responsible.

"For him freedom was more than a word. It was a schoolbus stopping at the country crossroads picking up children to be taught at the expense of the community—the liberating art of literacy. It was the secret ballot, the primary, the legislature, and the courts, by which and through which people expressed their desire to live under law for the protection of their lives and property. It was the initiative and referendum, the recall, and procedures of impeachment by which people might display their displeasure and pleasure with laws and with men. It was the microphone in every radio and television station which could be purchased for 30 seconds or an hour to tell the Nation or a part of the Nation that you were running for office, and why. Freedom to him was more than a word. It was to make a better mousetrap than your neighbor and sell it for a profit; it was the right to strike, that the sweat of your brow should not be sold for a farthing, and that you should have leisure hours to enjoy the fruits of your labor. It was not to wake up in the night in fear that the knock on the door was a squad of secret police, who had come to take you away for your words of criticism or condemnation. It was not looking over your shoulder for fear that an informer might hear those words and run to the authorities.

"Freedom to him was more than a word. It was walking into the church or synagogue of your choice, to worship God in accordance with your conscience without having your choice affect your livelihood or your availability for public office. It was to be born black, red, or yellow without having that fact deprive you of educational, political, economic or social equality by those who had been born white, and for that fact alone.

"Freedom to him was George W. Norris and the U.S. Senate, speaking and voicing his convictions about freedoms and about our natural resources without regard to political consequences

but only with regard to what he thought was right. It was because freedom meant so much to him that DICK felt compelled to enlist in the service of freedom, even as the Senator from Nebraska had enlisted.

"His work is done, and yet not done. Somewhere, we trust, in a public or parochial school, in a State university, or private college, a young man or young woman will find inspiration from the life and from the works of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, to dedicate his or her life to the preservation of our natural resources and to the extension of the freedoms of this our beloved land. I cannot bring this tribute to a close without a word about DICK'S humanity—a humanity that concerned itself with people as persons and not as creatures to be manipulated. He had the divine but troublesome gift of empathy. He could feel another's hurt whether it be a college student suffering the indignities of a hazing or whether it be a Negro refused service at a lunch counter.

"No effort was too great for him to redress what he believed to be a wrong. A personal injustice to someone known only to him perhaps by name. No effort was too great to bring to some humble soul a sense of personal worth. No sacrifice was too great to assure some youngster an education.

"He will be remembered by the State of Oregon and by the Nation for his statesmanship. He will be remembered by persons for the humaneness of his spirit—a spirit that is now at peace with God, who gave him to us. It is that spirit which will ever remain with us. We all sorrow for his family and for ourselves, but we rejoice that he lived to enrich our lives with his service to us. We rejoice also in the sure and certain faith that he has now joined with the immortal souls of all the dear and faithful dead who belong to the family of God. Let us pray.

"Oh, thou whose never failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and on earth, by whose loving kindness we are given to know life and death and all things, we have brought to thee this hour the gratitude of our hearts for the life which thou did givest for a season and which now has been surrendered unto thee. We thank thee for the endless renewing of life and for thy patience with us. Though we know nothing of the morrow, may we be faithful today to the vision of thy prophets and their servants, who sought to bring unto this world thy peaceable kingdom ruled by thy law and governed by thy wisdom. We pray for the good estate of this, our beloved land, that all men of every race and faith may enjoy the blessings of an impartial freedom and thus fulfill the dream of brotherhood among all peoples, for which men of good will have lived and died throughout all generations—even as he whose life we have praised this day. May his memorial

be in our words and thoughts and made precious by our deeds. In thy name we ask it. Amen."

Rabbi Rose: "After the closing prayer will the congregation please remain standing until the members of the family, those distinguished guests in the procession who have honored the memory of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, and the speakers on the rostrum have left the sanctuary.

"When cherished ties are broken and fond hopes shattered, only faith and confidence can lighten the heaviness of the heart. The pang of separation is hard to bear, but to brood over our sorrow is to embitter our grief. The psalmist said that in his affliction he learned the law of God. Indeed, not unavailing will be our grief, if it send us back to serve and bless the living. We learn how to counsel and comfort those who like ourselves are sorrow stricken. Though absent, the departed still minister to our spirits, teaching us patience, faithfulness and devotion. In the remembrance of their virtues and affections, the best and purest part of their nature lies eternally in shrine. Let us lift our head in hope, and summon our strength for duty. We dwell in the shelter of the Almighty for he is our refuge and our fortress."

HEBREW PRAYER

"Extolled and hallowed be the name of God, throughout the world which he has created according to His will. May His kingdom come and His will be done in all the earth. The departed whom we now remember has entered into the peace of life eternal. He still lives on earth in the acts of goodness he performed, and in the hearts of those who will ever cherish his memory. May the beauty of his life abide among us as a loving benediction, may the Father of peace send peace to all who mourn, and comfort all the bereaved among us here, and wherever they may be. Amen."

Mr. President, when our respected colleague, RICHARD NEUBERGER, passed away on Wednesday of this week the mourning in the country went far beyond his colleagues, his immediate friends, and the people of Oregon.

The grief was shared by many Americans.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record editorials on the death of Senator NEUBERGER which were published in four of the great newspapers of this country—the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Washington Post, and the Washington Star.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the New York Times, Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

When the tall young man from Oregon took his seat for the first time in the U.S. Senate on January 3, 1955, he was far better known throughout the country as a writer and crusading conservationist than as a political personality. When untimely death took him yesterday at the age of 47 his extraordinary qualities of mind and heart and spirit had achieved for him in those 5 short years a secure eminence of stature as a Senator.

It is difficult to write of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER in the past tense. His enthusiasm and sincerity, his undeviating conscience and his high sense of public service combined to make him not only one of the most respected Members of the Senate but also one of the most useful and most vital. His powerful pen and his persuasive voice gave life and point to many issues—notably improvement of the legislative process and preservation of this country's dwindling natural and scenic resources—that brought him into conflict with interests that a lesser politician would have been afraid to offend.

One of his current projects dearest to Senator NEUBERGER'S heart was enactment of legislation to establish as a natural seashore preserve a magnificent stretch of Pacific beachland in his native State, known as the Oregon dunes. No more fitting tribute could be paid him by the Congress and the people of the United States than to adopt the NEUBERGER bill that would set aside forever this area in memory of a fine legislator and great outdoorsman who was determined that future generations should share in the great natural heritage of this country that he knew so well and loved.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 10, 1960]

SENATOR NEUBERGER'S UNTIMELY DEATH

The death of RICHARD NEUBERGER is particularly poignant. A man in his vigorous and youthful prime, the junior Senator from Oregon had recently recovered from an operation for cancer. The malignancy had been arrested, and he was preparing to run for reelection in the fall. Moreover, he had been for many years a tireless advocate of greater Federal spending on medical research, both on the floor of the Senate and in the press.

Senator NEUBERGER was a man steeped in the tradition of Western liberalism, a tradition of which can boast many famous names in American political history. But his style was entirely his own—freewheeling, outspoken, dedicated, sometimes even brash, although

the brashness gave way to a reflective maturity in the last few years. And the fact that he was Oregon's first Democrat elected to the Senate in 40 years speaks loudly for his personal magnetism and for the reality of his representation. His is a most regretted loss to the Northwest and to American public life in general.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

The Senate has lost an extraordinarily useful, constructive, and independent-minded Member in the death of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER of Oregon. There is extra pathos to Senator NEUBERGER'S death in that he had apparently withstood a long siege with cancer little more than a year ago and had sought renomination in the Democratic primary, only to fall victim of a cerebral hemorrhage.

Always a liberal by conviction, DICK NEUBERGER was a provocative and controversial figure when in 1954 he became the first Democratic Senator elected from Oregon in 40 years. He had been a prolific author on political science subjects as well as about his beloved Northwest, and he had constituted a team with his attractive wife, Maurine, in the Oregon Legislature. If he wore his principles on his sleeve and tended a bit toward prudishness when he came to Washington, he soon rejected the doctrinaire approach. He was as ready to oppose what he regarded as the preconceived notions of his liberal friends as to strike at entrenched reaction.

The result was that he was regarded with respect and affection even by those he opposed, and his analytical quality sometimes provided a catalyst in the Senate. Particularly after his cancer operation he developed a rare humanitarian gentleness, manifested in his personal relationships as well as in his interest in health legislation. One of his great regrets was the feud prosecuted by his Oregon colleague, Senator Morse. Withal he was a man of much courage, not hesitating to criticize ethical standards in Congress and to stand up virtually alone when he thought he was right.

DICK NEUBERGER contributed significantly to the popularizing of conservation and enlightened resources development, to intelligent discussion of political structure, and to such specific measures as the bill to save disappearing shorelines and the billboard ban on interstate highways. He served his State and country with integrity and devotion which were appreciated in Oregon as well as in Washington. His wife, who shared his views and worked closely with him, would make an admirable successor in the Senate.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 10, 1960]

DICK NEUBERGER

Oregon's Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, who died early yesterday, crowded a lot of living into 47 years. From the time of his youth, he was a person of physical and intellectual vigor. Before entering politics in 1940, he was a prolific and versatile writer—inquiring of mind, skillful with words. In politics, he displayed similar qualities and the energy and aggressiveness to translate them into popularity and success at the polls. Mr. NEUBERGER was never without a cause—and there were few if any causes of truly liberal character that did not draw his support. Even during the past 2 years when the tragedy of grievous ill health darkened his life, he found in this misfortune the inspiration for new crusades on behalf of public health and cancer research. By the measurement of time, his life and career were short. By the measurement of respected accomplishment, they were rich and full.

Remarks by Senator Javits

Of New York

Mr. President, I have received this week a letter from Mr. Morris Biller, president of the Postal Union of Manhattan-Bronx Clerks, one of the largest and most progressive unions of postal employees in the country. The postal union is most anxious to join in the many tributes which have been paid to Senator NEUBERGER by his friends all over the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Biller's letter be printed as follows:

POSTAL UNION OF MANHATTAN-BRONX CLERKS,
New York, March 14, 1960.

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the 9,000 members of this local I wish to pay tribute to the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, for his friendship toward postal employees and his tireless efforts in their behalf.

He will be especially remembered as the author of the Health Benefits Act which is a milestone in Federal employee legislation in giving health benefits coverage to all Federal employees.

He will be greatly missed by all of us.

Sincerely,

MORRIS BILLER, *President.*

Remarks by Senator Gruening

Of Alaska

Mr. President, tributes to our late beloved colleague, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, multiply on every hand. Alaskans are particularly appreciative of the services he rendered.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Fairbanks News-Miner, entitled "We've Lost a Friend," be printed as follows:

WE'VE LOST A FRIEND

Alaska lost a stanch and capable friend early this morning with the death of U.S. Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER of Oregon.

Just completing his first 6-year term as U.S. Senator, the young 47-year-old Democratic Senator from Oregon had earned the admiration and respect of his constituents of both major political parties since his election in 1954. Senator NEUBERGER's integrity and sincere devotion to public service was recognized by his colleagues in our Nation's highest legislative chambers, who liked and respected DICK NEUBERGER the man, and Senator NEUBERGER, a statesman in the finest tradition of our country.

Intrigued by Alaska when he was aide-de-camp to Gen. James A. O'Connor, construction chief of the Alaska Highway during World War II, Senator NEUBERGER was a true friend to both the territory and State of Alaska during his career as U.S. Senator. He fought hard and effectively in our behalf to give Alaskans full privileges of American citizenship. It was fitting that Senator NEUBERGER was presiding in the Senate chambers at 8 p.m. on June 30, 1958, when the Senate granted statehood to Alaska. We remember his look of satisfaction when he smilingly admonished the packed galleries to maintain order as spontaneous applause erupted with Senator NEUBERGER's announcement of the final vote.

Oregon has lost a fine U.S. Senator, our country has lost a great statesman, and Alaska has lost a true friend today.

Mr. President, our beloved late colleague, RICHARD NEUBERGER, left a legacy of achievement whose benefits will be felt by succeeding generations of Americans for all time. His

great concern for the preservation of our natural beauties has found a prompt and thoroughly merited response in the introduction by the Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield], and the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], of a bill to set aside the Oregon Dunes as a national park and to name it Neuberger National Seashore.

In this connection, in introducing the bill, our able and distinguished colleague, Senator Mansfield, said, in part:

> Last fall when DICK NEUBERGER should have been resting he crusaded throughout his State on behalf of the creation of a national park on the Oregon coast. He sought this park for posterity, and it was a project into which he threw all of his energies.
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> The conservation experts of our Nation are in agreement that our ocean shoreline, one of our greatest recreational treasures, is rapidly vanishing from public use. They are also in agreement that there are a limited number of outstanding scenic seashore areas, which are today in a relatively underdeveloped state. The Oregon dunes is one of these, so we have selected an area which meets the high criteria prescribed to make it qualify as a national seashore. It is entirely fitting and proper that we create this park, and it is equally fitting that it be named RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.
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> There is no more fitting spot in Oregon to name in honor of DICK NEUBERGER, than this scenic stretch of coastline. He had the vision and the foresight to see why it must be preserved. This area more nearly typifies his contribution to his fellowman than any other. All through his life he stood on the shores of civilization, looking beyond and thinking of the future. He did not stand on a mountain looking down, nor was he in a wilderness, his view obscured by trees and mountains. New ideas came to him as the wind and waves which swept in from the sea.

Our able colleague from Montana, our assistant majority leader, concluded with the inspiring thought that in addition to naming the park RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, there be placed at an appropriate spot a modest plaque which will read:

> TO RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, humanitarian and conservationist. He loved his people and his land.

The cosponsor of this bill, the able assistant minority leader, the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] added:

No tribute we could pay our departed friend would be more symbolic of his life and ideals.

This wonderful project, which will preserve for posterity and for the enjoyment and inspiration of Americans of our time and of Americans as yet unborn was likewise referred to in an excellent editorial entitled "In Memory of Richard Neuberger," by William E. Bohn, the editor of the New Leader, which appears in its April 4 issue. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed as follows:

IN MEMORY OF RICHARD NEUBERGER

In connection with the passing of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER the New York Times makes an inspired suggestion. The junior Senator from Oregon had himself introduced a bill to make into a national park a magnificent stretch of dunes along the Pacific Coast in his State. Says the Times: "No more fitting tribute could be paid him by the Congress and the people of the United States than to adopt the Neuberger bill that would set aside forever this area in memory of a fine legislator and great outdoors man who was determined that future generations should share in the great natural heritage of this country that he knew so well and loved." This bright idea needs but to be suggested in order to win support. The legislation necessary to its fulfillment should be rushed through as rapidly as possible.

On March 9 the morning papers and radio newscasts carried the shocking information that Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER had died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage. The quick sense of loss which swept over the land was altogether extraordinary. Here was a man, only one among a hundred Senators, yet millions of citizens of both parties and all sections suddenly felt that both they and the country were poorer.

The general sorrow was partly due to the man's youth. He was only 47 years old. There had been every prospect of his serving the Senate 20 or 25 years longer. Think of the bills he might have introduced and pushed to passage, of the addresses he might have delivered; imagine what articles he might have written to line voters up on the right side of all sorts of issues. His simple and straightforward speeches and writing were astonishingly effective. He had a way of knowing what he was talking about and his style was from the heart.

Another important element in the situation was that DICK NEUBERGER loved people. Everyone who had ever shaken his hand or exchanged a few words with him regarded him as a close and long-time friend. No matter how fleeting the contact, the relationship

was real. DICK remembered and cared for people by the thousands. When he had that dangerous attack of cancer in the autumn of 1958, the whole country was concerned. When he underwent an operation and the surgeons assured him that his cure was permanent, that he could go on with his busy and rewarding career, it was much more than a personal and private victory for him.

One of his last gifts to the Nation was an article in the January issue of Coronet, "A Crash Program To Beat Cancer." He was thinking of a crash program of billions to fight this killer as we used to develop the atom bomb to crush the dictators. Nothing could show more dramatically the man's sense of public responsibility, how quickly he leaped from personal pain to public welfare. One paragraph pictures the patient on his lonely bed: "I can tell you that the cancer victim is frequently the loneliest person in the world. He feels that nothing can help him. Friends, family, doctors, associates all seem without power to check the malignant growth that perils his life. He wishes desperately and profoundly for some miraculous cure which will bring reprieve."

And here is his plea for public action: "Despite the terrible threat of cancer, we spend far less on research into its causes and possible cures than we do, for instance, to build a half dozen B–58 bombers. Our annual expenditure for doughnuts more than triples what we spend in search of an answer to the curse of cancer."

DICK NEUBERGER was not just an outdoorsman. He was one of the last frontiersmen. He belonged to the old West, the big West, the clean West. Whatever was messy, dirty, or wasteful repelled him. He wanted American life and American politics to be kept as straight and honest and decent as our forefathers had pictured them. This impulse motivated his campaign in favor of the abolition of private campaign financing. He saw legislators coming into office indebted to the tune of hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars for campaign expenses. The corruption which inevitably accompanies such a system repelled him to such an extent that he could not remain silent. He borrowed from Theodore Roosevelt a plan which, he believed, would abolish the whole unsavory mess. I shall wait with deep interest to see who takes up this cause which he was forced to lay down.

And then, there is the wilderness bill. DICK NEUBERGER was deeply involved in the effort to preserve and develop all our natural resources. Waters, forests, mountains, all sources of wealth and beauty, he would help to protect and enhance for future generations. He had special interest in the bill which would put the protecting arms of the Federal Government about all of the unspoiled and primitive beauty spots in our national parks and forests. Surely other good western men will rise and do for this bill what DICK NEUBERGER would have done had he escaped the grim reaper.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

Mr. President, yesterday, a group of our colleagues, including the majority leader, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, as well as Senators E. L. "Bob" Bartlett, Frank Church, Paul Douglas, Henry Dworshak, Henry Jackson, Gale McGee, Wayne Morse, Thruston Morton, Ralph Yarborough, and I, as well as the secretary to the majority, Robert Baker, and members of Senator NEUBERGER's office staff flew to Portland, Oreg., to take part in the memorial services to our late beloved colleague, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. Among those who accompanied the senatorial party was Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who along with Senator Johnson, Senator Douglas, and myself, was one of the speakers at the memorial services.

We first visited DICK's home, where we were most graciously received by Mrs. Maurine Neuberger and had a chance to meet DICK's parents and sister.

The synagogue where the services were held was crowded to overflowing, with many persons standing in the back and in the aisles, and others unable to get it. But we all welcomed the opportunity, despite the sadness of the occasion, to be able to record in his home city, some measure of the esteem, the respect, and the genuine affection we felt for DICK NEUBERGER, and to say to his many friends and constituents how much he would be missed in the future and how great and enduring had been his contributions in many fields and his services as a Senator, as a journalist, as well as a friendly and lovable human being.

Last Saturday a very pertinent comment on DICK's death, written by Mike Gorman, was published in the Washington Post. The letter calls attention to the still great need for funds to pursue cancer research. There is little question in my mind that DICK's death, although reported as a cerebral hemorrhage, was a consequence of his cancer, of which he had been reportedly cured. No autopsy was performed, so that we shall not know for certain what the underlying pathological cause of his sudden and unexpected death was. But it is my conviction that a metastasis from his cancer was

accountable for this cerebral lesion, and I feel it desirable to emphasize in this connection that while progress has been made in delaying the lethal consequences of cancer, and by early treatment—surgical, radiological, or by medication—of effecting cure in a substantial number of cases diagnosed in time and responsive to therapy, the destruction by what our colleague Matt Neely, himself later a cancer victim, 32 years ago, referred to as "a monster that is more insatiate than the guillotine," still remains with us, and the widely hoped for "breakthrough" against this dread disease is still to be achieved.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter written by Mike Gorman, and published in the Washington Post, be printed at this point:

A GALLANT FIGHT YIELDS A LESSON

On May 18, 1928, the late Senator Matt Neely, of West Virginia, stood in the well of the Senate and uttered these prophetic words:

"I propose to speak of a monster that is more insatiate than the guillotine; more irresistible than the mightiest army that ever marched to battle; more terrifying than any other scourge that has ever threatened the existence of the human race. The name of this loathsome, deadly and insatiate monster is cancer. It is older than the human race. Evidence of cancer has been found in the fossile remains of a serpent that is supposed to have lived millions of years ago. Records made on papyri by the ancient Egyptians show that the cancer curse was known in the valley of the Nile more than 2,000 years before the birth of Christ."

For 30 years, Matt Neely continued his battle for a major medical research offensive against cancer. In 1958, he succumbed to the monstrous disease which he had excoriated on the floor of the Senate so many times.

During the past decade, cancer also took the lives of Senators Robert A. Taft, Kenneth Wherry, Arthur Vandenberg, and Brien McMahon. Two of our greatest atomic scientists, Enrico Fermi and John von Neumann, succumbed to it. Last year, Secretary of State Dulles lost a grim battle to it.

And now the bell has tolled for Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, aged 47.

In some strange way DICK NEUBERGER seemed to know, early in his Senate career, that this monstrous disease was somehow bound up with his own fate. Early in 1956, when I asked him to speak

on the floor of the Senate in favor of a doubling of the medical research program of the Veterans Administration, he told me that he wanted to direct his remarks to the menace of cancer.

From that time on, DICK NEUBERGER devoted his talented pen to many an article portraying this merciless disease which kills 250,000 Americans every year and costs us $12 billion annually in lost productivity.

But the bloodless actuaries who seem to dominate the present administration never lift their heads above the point of a pencil. For the coming year, the Eisenhower administration has recommended a cut of $3 million in appropriations for the National Cancer Institute. It has also recommended a cut in the cancer research program of the Veterans Administration. Furthermore, it has continually opposed the enactment of Senator Hill's "health for peace bill" which would, among other things, launch a worldwide research offensive against cancer, a disease which kills 2 million people in all parts of the world every year.

What price, then, the life of DICK NEUBERGER? What price, then, the lives of 25 million Americans who will eventually die of cancer unless medical research produces the needed knowledge to combat this disease? The premature death of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER should be a solemn reminder to the present administration.

MIKE GORMAN,
Executive Director, National Committee Against Mental Illness.

Mr. President, a tribute to the services of our late colleague, DICK NEUBERGER, in behalf of the cause of conservation, by Howard Zahniser, executive secretary of the Wilderness Society, appeared in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed at this point in my remarks:

RICHARD NEUBERGER

Your March 10 editorial in recognition of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, as an extraordinarily useful, constructive, and independent-minded Member of the Senate is both modest and reserved—an excellent tribute.

There are many particulars in Senator NEUBERGER'S contributions that will come strikingly to light as his conservation leadership, for example, is recorded and discussed by historians.

His courage and devotion to principle led him to become a champion of national park protection when he first took his Senate seat, at a time when this leadership apparently turned the tide. He was one of the earliest champions and architects of the wilderness bill—so strikingly so, that Senator Humphrey, on each introduction of this measure, insisted that Senator NEUBERGER be its first-named cosponsor.

As a member of the Interior Committee handling this measure, Senator NEUBERGER became a leading advocate, Senator Humphrey not being a member of the committee, and Senator NEUBERGER not only conducted hearings in Bend, Oreg., and San Francisco, Calif., but in many ways—on the Senate floor, in magazine writings, in interviews—advocated the enactment of this bill.

These contributions by Senator NEUBERGER are familiar to me because of my own association with them, but they will be matched by many others in other fields of the public interest, for DICK NEUBERGER was not only devoted but also diligent. It was amazing to note his accomplishments—achievements that will be adequately recognized only when a competent biographer has published another volume for our history of great Americans.

HOWARD ZAHNISER,
Executive Secretary, the Wilderness Society.

WASHINGTON.

Mr. President, RICHARD NEUBERGER was, as Zahniser points out, a great supporter of our national park system, of the establishment of wilderness areas, of the setting aside of shorelines as national parks or national monuments. One of those will, if so established, preserve the wonderful Oregon Dunes on the Pacific coast. This national park or monument should very appropriately bear DICK NEUBERGER'S name. In line with these efforts RICHARD NEUBERGER objected to the defacing of our Federal thruways by billboards, and to the extent that these principal arteries will be freed from billboards through the amendatory legislation which DICK sponsored in connection with Federal highway aid legislation and his public advocacy of this cause, much of America's superb scenery will remain visible in all its original beauty to automobile travelers. Mr. Zahniser quite properly says that the contribution of DICK NEUBERGER in the field of conservation will be matched in many other fields.

A mere listing of them would take a long time and I will name only a few. Senator NEUBERGER was active in the promotion of health legislation, and even before he was stricken by the dread disease, he did all in his power to promote a crash program for cancer research. In a related field was the legislation which he successfully sponsored to provide health insurance for Federal employees. It is now law, and millions of Government employees and their families will benefit therefrom. Still pending and likewise largely due to his sponsorship, is similar legislation to provide health insurance for the retirees in the Government service.

RICHARD NEUBERGER was also a great advocate of our natural resources development. His voice was raised again and again in the Senate and on public platforms, and for many years before, his pen was enlisted in favor of such projects as Grand Coulee, Bonneville and the many other power dams which have been erected in the West and have done so much to develop the use of hydroelectric power, for irrigation, flood control, and low-cost electricity generation.

His book, "The Promised Land"—one of his many enduring publications—published 22 years ago was both a program and an innovation for much of the development of the West which has followed. His great interest in Alaska was a natural concomitant of his devotion to the West, and a demonstration of his own pioneer spirit—a spirit which led to his creative exploration of so many fields of human activity.

In this connection I am pleased to report that the House of Representatives of the Alaska Legislature has voted to name a mountain in Alaska after RICHARD NEUBERGER, and has recommended a specific peak to the Board of Geographic Names. It is a 6,747-foot-high mountain, visible from the Alaska Highway, in the construction of which DICK NEUBERGER, when in the Armed Forces in World War II, played so active a part. The vote was unanimous and testifies to the appreciation of the 40 house members of RICHARD NEUBERGER'S

great record of service to Alaska during the last 20 years of his fruitful life.

DICK NEUBERGER was always a great friend and supporter of any group or category of our citizens who for one reason or another were disadvantaged or denied equality of opportunity. Thus, he was a protector of the Indians in fields where he felt their rights were being invaded, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, was able to secure the conservation of some of their tribal timber properties which were in danger of being despoiled, thus serving at one time the causes of human and resource conservation.

He raised his voice repeatedly against discrimination in employment because of age. He felt that a great injustice was done not only to the men and women who, after a certain time of life, were denied employment even though fully capable—an injustice not merely to the individuals and their families—but also to the entire fabric of our society.

On the other end of the age scale, he strongly supported a bill to establish a Youth Conservation Corps—on the model of the CCC of President Franklin Roosevelt's administration—which was passed by the Senate last year and now awaits action by the House. Likewise, he urged the establishment of a Foreign Service Academy to give our youngsters a chance to be trained for service abroad.

He was a strong supporter of education in all its aspects and for the development of better low-cost housing.

With all his interest in national affairs, ranging over a wide variety of subjects, he was devoted and indefatigable in protecting and advancing the requirements of his own State, although never at the expense of the larger regional and still larger national interests.

In this, as in all his other endeavors, he was greatly aided by his devoted helpmeet, Maurine. Of her our distinguished colleague, the Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith] said, when last Wednesday the Senate was paying its tributes to DICK NEUBERGER:

If there ever was an instance of a widow deserving to succeed to and carry on the work of her husband, it is Maurine Neuberger because she is the surviving member of a partnership that inspired the people of Oregon and those of us in Washington who saw that partnership in action.

Mr. President, I feel that this gracious and generous tribute from the other side of the aisle on the part of one who has so graced this body and brought such great distinction to her sex, will be widely shared in this body, in a spirit equally above partisanship, as so gallantly displayed by the Senator from Maine [Mrs. Smith].

Now that Maurine Neuberger has announced her candidacy for the Senate, it is my confident hope that she will be with us after the fall election to carry on the great work which will forever enshrine the name of Neuberger in American annals.

Remarks by Senator Mansfield

Of Montana

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, one of the last writings of the beloved junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, before he died recently was a review of a penetrating, significant, and fascinating book on the Presidency, "The Splendid Misery," written by Mr. Jack Bell, the chief political writer for the Associated Press.

As one who has read the book and has enjoyed it, I wish to say it is based on fact and on close personal observation. I am sure that already it has been read by most, if not all, the Members of the Senate.

Mr. President, because I believe every American ought to read this book, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed Mr. NEUBERGER's review of "The Splendid Misery" as it appeared in the March 20 edition of the New York Times:

THE ADDRESS IS 1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

(Review of "The Splendid Misery," the story of the Presidency and power politics at close range, by Jack Bell)

(By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER)

The most successful book about Washington, D.C., in recent years has been Allen Drury's novel, "Advise and Consent," the theme of which is that ours is predominantly a Government of men rather than laws. Mr. Drury showed that men—with all their foibles, scandals, ambitions, hates and also their occasional capacity for greatness—shape the destiny of the U.S. Senate in particular and our national political life in general.

What Mr. Drury did with fiction for the Senate, a veteran correspondent of the Associated Press in Washington has now accomplished with facts and shrewd personal observations for the White House. Like Mr. Drury, Jack Bell has spent many hours in the press galleries which peer down on the Senate and House. Unlike the author of "Advise and Consent," Mr. Bell is captivated far less by Congress than he is by 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and by the personal characteristics of its recent occupants, especially Dwight

D. Eisenhower. Mr. Bell has seen the President's performance at close range, and this book is both a measured and fascinating appraisal of the kind of Chief Executive we have had during these past 7 years.

Mr. Bell believes that the destiny of America is forged at the White House and not on Capitol Hill. He tells us that there has been "no epoch of true national advancement that did not have as its commanding figure a strong Chief Executive. Where the President was timid or ineffective, the people suffered. Where Congress was able to command, there was reaction, stultification, and often near disaster." Mr. Bell discerns only the President as speaking for all the Nation. Congress, by contrast, is a babble of many tongues, most of them anchored to local special interests. This book is a mirror of the amazing Eisenhower years, during which an essentially weak and inarticulate President has retained a vast popularity with the public.

Those prominent Democrats who berate Mr. Eisenhower for not stopping the Russian rocket tests in the Pacific or for his meetings with Premier Nikita Khrushchev might do well to read "The Splendid Misery." Despite his obvious feeling that President Eisenhower often abdicates to others many responsibilities which should be his alone, Jack Bell believes that the hero-general has an enormous appeal to Americans "as a man of peace." It is this shining image that has survived such domestic political disasters as the Sherman Adams fiasco and the continuing loss of congressional seats to the Democrats.

Despite this, the author is convinced that Americans sense the need for a strong President. He writes that "fundamentally the people want a President with the integrity of Washington, the guts of Jackson, the unwavering purpose of Lincoln, the energy of Theodore Roosevelt and the flexibility of Franklin Roosevelt." He makes no secret of his conviction that President Eisenhower has fallen considerably short of these qualities. Mr. Bell, who has been an intimate observer of most of the major political events of our era and is now chief political writer for the Associated Press, gives us a ringside seat at General Eisenhower's so-called "surrender" to Senator Robert A. Taft and the conservatives on fiscal matters during the campaign of 1952. The national hero here appears as a political babe-in-the-woods who "was surrendering at the outset some of the vital weapons the President would need in his arsenal in the conflict between the Executive and Congress."

The warp and woof of Washington is controversy—political controversy. The author is plainly disenchanted with a President who eschews the normal combat of politics. He refers to Mr. Eisenhower's "Buchanan position" in the flaming Little Rock

school-integration situation, when he kept hands off until conditions practically disintegrated. He shows the President as detaching himself completely for the historic Supreme Court verdicts in the school cases, and he is candidly amazed by a President who told one press conference that his own "personal convictions, no matter how strong," should not be the decisive factor in reorganizing the Defense Department. Obviously, the author wonders what would have been our national fate if Jefferson or Lincoln or F.D.R., for example, had thus isolated themselves midway between heaven and earth, like Mohammed's coffin.

Although most of Mr. Bell's book is devoted to the presidency as a contemporary institution, he does provide some vivid background chapters which show that the great and historic Presidents have all been powerful Presidents, who made Congress knuckle under to their views. The story of the Lincoln administration is particularly pertinent in this respect. The author demonstrates that the patron saint of the Republican Party was a President who did not hesitate to flout the Constitution itself when he thought dictatorial action was essential to the survival of the American Union.

A captious reader may challenge one of Mr. Bell's basic themes. Do Americans really yearn for a strong and decisive President? As "The Splendid Misery" reaches booksellers' shelves, every survey shows the President to be at the crest of his popularity. I have just been home to my native State of Oregon. If the Constitution and his wishes allowed it, I am certain that Dwight D. Eisenhower could carry Oregon for a third consecutive time by an overwhelming majority. Are the other 49 States so different?

Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to create the Richard L. Neuberger National Seashore in Oregon in honor of our late colleague from Oregon. When I spoke in the Senate on March 9 in tribute to the late junior Senator from Oregon, Mr. NEUBERGER, I suggested that it would be a fitting tribute if a Federal wilderness area in the Pacific Northwest were named for him. Afterward, upon reflection, and in discussion with some of my colleagues, I reached the conclusion that the most fitting tribute would be to create a memorial dear to the Senator and more symbolic of the contributions he made.

Last fall when DICK NEUBERGER should have been resting he crusaded throughout his State on behalf of the creation

of a national park on the Oregon coast. He sought this park for posterity, and it was a project into which he threw all of his energies. I shall not detail the efforts he went to, but I call attention to some of the things he did to help create an Oregon Coast National Seashore Recreation Area. On March 25, 1959, he had introduced his own bill to create this park, S. 1526. On May 20, 1959, he introduced S. 2010 at the request of the Secretary of the Interior. This bill would have created three seacoast parks to be selected by the Secretary of the Interior. On October 26, 1959, he prepared a modified version of his own bill which was circulated widely through the State. This was his effort to meet the criticisms voiced by Oregon's Governor, Mark Hatfield, to his first bill. On January 18, 1960, he received a substitute bill from the Governor of Oregon, which included not only the provisions of the October 26 version of his bill, but a number of additional drastic departures. Then on January 25, 1960, he introduced the bill which combined the Governor's thinking with his own and contained his views plus those of the Governor.

This was typical of DICK NEUBERGER, and he emphasized in his remarks first that he was not in complete agreement with the Governor, second, that the best way to obtain a park would be to reach all possible agreement with the Governor, and, third, that it was his firm intention to accept whatever changes the Governor had made which were likewise acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior. Senator NEUBERGER pointed out:

> Many years from now the important and essential thing will be the existence of a great national park along America's most majestic shoreline. * * * My goal * * * is to bring Oregon its first new national park since Crater Lake was set aside in 1902.

Further, Senator NEUBERGER stated:

> I am quite willing to abide by the judgment of those who possess this experience. I feel certain that Governor Hatfield will likewise trust the judgment of the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service.

This record of events demonstrates effectively the traits which were DICK NEUBERGER'S hallmark and which were

referred to so often by his colleagues. In introducing a new version of the Oregon dunes bill we have done two things: First, we have suggested that this park be named for the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, and, second, we have sought the advice and counsel of the Department of the Interior in order to present to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a bill which we believe will obtain the official support of the Secretary of the Interior and the President.

I would say, however, in all fairness that one section dealing with payments in lieu of taxes has not been revised, and it is my understanding that as presently suggested by the Governor, this language would not be in accord with the views of the administration. The revised bill has changed the boundaries of the park, primarily as to the area surrounding Lake Tahkenitch. In lieu of acquiring the lands around Lake Tahkenitch immediately, the same provisions would apply as apply to the Sea Lion Caves. So long as the lands are used for their present noncommercial purposes, or for forest management, they will not become a part of the park, but should the present owners wish to change the use of the property, or to dispose of it to others who would change the use, the Federal Government will have the opportunity to purchase these lands. A few tracts on the south and east boundary near Siltcoos Lake have also been excluded. The other revisions in the language of the bill are designed to bring it into better harmony with the manner in which the great majority of our park areas are administered.

I have included this discussion of the bill so that those concerned will be well informed of the changes in the bill and the efforts which have been made to revise it in accordance with the standards set by the late Senator.

Mr. President, I believe that it is incumbent upon me to present the reasons which motivated me to suggest that this great scenic area of the Oregon coast be named in honor of the late junior Senator from Oregon.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

The conservation experts of our Nation are in agreement that our ocean shoreline, one of our greatest recreational treasures, is rapidly vanishing from public use. They are also in agreement that there are a limited number of outstanding scenic seashore areas, which are today in a relative undeveloped state. The Oregon dunes is one of these, so we have selected an area which meets the high criteria prescribed to make it qualify as a national seashore. It is entirely fitting and proper that we create this park, and it is equally fitting that it be named RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

Before this man entered the U.S. Senate, his name was known around the world as one of America's leading conservationists. He understood the true meaning of the word "conservation." He knew the role that wise management of our renewable resources played in our economic, social, and spiritual well-being. He understood that it was necessary to utilize the forest, the range, and the water, to meet the needs of our people for the material requirements of life. He continuously urged that we treat our soil well and husband our resources so that their ability to be renewed would be in no way jeopardized or impaired. Even more, he understood the necessity that we preserve to nature's way of making changes certain areas so that future generations could view the work of nature alone. Thus, he had a keen appreciation of the role that was man's and the role that was nature's. He understood that we could not build a civilization on machines and factories or on material wealth alone, but rather that the spiritual strength which could be obtained only from nature was the solid base upon which a successful civilization must rest.

There is no more fitting spot in Oregon to name in honor of DICK NEUBERGER than this scenic stretch of coastline. He had the vision and the foresight to see why it must be preserved. This area more nearly typifies his contribution to his fellow man than any other. All through his life he stood on the shores of civilization, looking beyond and thinking of the future. He did not stand on a mountain looking down,

nor was he in a wilderness, his view obscured by trees and mountains. New ideas came to him as the wind and waves which swept in from the sea.

It is my hope that the Congress will proceed speedily to enact this bill. It is also my hope that all those who are interested will join to aid in this cause. I urge that those who may have views to express to do so with the same tolerance and thoughtfulness which characterized DICK NEUBERGER'S approach to every problem.

Mr. President, I have but one further thought to offer, that in addition to naming the park for RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, that there be placed at an appropriate spot a modest plaque which will read: "To RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, humanitarian and conservationist. He loved his people and his land."

Remarks by Senator Kuchel

Of California

Mr. President, I am honored to join the distinguished majority whip [Mr. Mansfield] in sponsoring this proposed legislation to establish the Richard L. Neuberger National Seashore on the beautiful Oregon coast. No tribute we could pay our departed friend would be more symbolic of his life and his ideals.

The late RICHARD NEUBERGER was nurtured in the tradition of the great West. He knew well the twin conditioning influences of the West—distance from centralized authority and vastness. He knew its freedom, its spirit of innovation, its love of nature, its distinctive contribution to the brand of democracy which is uniquely American.

His work in the Senate testified to his faith in the ultimate triumph of spiritual values over the material conditions of life. He fought to preserve our seashores as national park sites where all might come to renew their strength at the ocean's edge. He fought to save the pine trees in the Klamath Indian Reservation from uncontrolled decimation. He sponsored the memorial to those intrepid pathfinders of the West—Lewis and Clark—whose great expedition opened the Oregon Trail. He worked tirelessly to bring Canada and the United States together in a program for the development of the upper Columbia River. He was a conservationist in the great tradition of Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt. He was a devoted defender of American reclamation policy. And he spoke for the development of the Nation's water resources under which his State and mine, indeed, all the semiarid West has gone forward in their development toward greatness.

He was loyal to his political party, but he was not subservient to it. Above all he was a firm believer in American

democracy and in the people who had made it work despite all the vicissitudes of fate and fortune. This legislative tribute will honor the memory, as Mike Mansfield has so well said, of a humanitarian and conservationist who so well served his State and Nation.

Remarks by Representative Ullman

Of Oregon

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I want to insert in the Record a tribute to the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER penned by his friend, and mine, J. W. Forrester, Jr., editor of the Pendleton East Oregonian. I can think of no more stirring tribute to DICK NEUBERGER:

[From the East Oregonian, Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

It isn't going to be easy to write this. It never is easy to write of a friend who has been taken by death. This is so very difficult because my friendship with DICK NEUBERGER goes back to the days when we were kids learning to be newspapermen. It was a friendship that came, over the years, to mean more to me than I can express to you.

DICK NEUBERGER'S death is a tragedy for so many people, not alone his friends. There was so much ahead for him to do, tasks that no one else in Oregon could do as well.

Before he went to the U.S. Senate he was established as a writer whose stories on any subject were sought by all the best magazines and by such great newspapers as the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

In less than 6 years in the U.S. Senate he became a statesman who was admired and respected by men on both sides of the aisle for his intellect, his capacity to serve the people of his State and his fairness and tolerance.

Because of the respect Members of both parties had for him, he was getting more and more done for Oregon. He worked as effectively with many Republicans as he did with Democrats in the Senate. Members of the Republican Party in Oregon knew that he would unfailingly place the interests of all citizens of Oregon ahead of any other consideration. They knew that they need not hesitate about going to him with their problems.

A few days ago he told me he intended to serve (if Oregonians desired that he should) one more term in the Senate. He wanted to do that because there was a lot of unfinished business in the Senate he wanted to have a hand in. He had become so effective

in the Senate in his first term that he most certainly would have accomplished much in the second.

Another term and then he was coming home to Oregon to spend the rest of his years writing and enjoying life with close friends.

DICK NEUBERGER had an almost unbelievable capacity for work. He fulfilled his duties as Senator as well as any man Oregon has sent to Washington. But he also found time to write for magazines and newspapers, to carry on personal correspondence that would have kept most men busy had they nothing else to do, to make a great number of speeches, and to read every week more than most of us get to in a month.

His personal correspondence was of amazing magnitude. Children of his friends always were in his thoughts. He wrote to them and sent them gifts. So many letters to parents on important matters contained special messages for their children.

He loved young people. When he went to the Senate he was offered patronage rights. What was his first choice? To appoint a Senate page. He established a research internship on his staff for outstanding graduates of Oregon colleges in political science and journalism. He gave a large portion of his earnings from magazines to Oregon colleges as scholarship funds. The book he wrote for children about the Lewis and Clark Expedition was a bestseller.

His devotion to the preservation of natural resources was deep rooted. He paid the wonders and beauties of nature more than lipservice, as all who read his magazine articles knew. There was no subject he enjoyed more writing about. He enjoyed even more a day at the beach or at a lake or on a mountain trail. One of the most enjoyable days I've had was spent with the Neubergers on the beach at Ecola Park, a day of such beauty that we spoke of it many times thereafter.

DICK could have done so much for this State and its citizens in the years ahead. But there is nothing to be gained now in speculating upon that. Let us speak instead of the high place he has in the history of this State because of all he accomplished in 47 years, as a writer, State legislator, and U.S. Senator, and in countless other ways. Those who knew him intimately saw early a man of great stature, a stature that others recognized later. When he was elected to the U.S. Senate, I said to some who had doubts, "DICK NEUBERGER will be a fine Senator. Just give him time. He has all the qualities that a man needs to be a great Senator." That he measured up was so well recognized throughout Oregon that it was conceded by almost all the politicians that he would be reelected by the biggest margin ever given a candidate for the Senate from this State.

I could write much, much more about DICK NEUBERGER. But much of it would be personal and this is not the place for that. I shall close by saying that no man will pass this way whom I shall think better of.—J. W. F.

Remarks by Representative Porter

Of Oregon

Mr. Speaker, there is before this House and the other body legislation to establish a national seashore area on the Oregon coast.

The bill to create a seashore park was one of the major pieces of work in which Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER was engaged at the time of his death. DICK NEUBERGER had spent a great amount of time last fall and winter working on details of the bill trying to iron out differences, trying to accommodate everyone so that a workable and meaningful park could be created.

I am introducing today a revised bill to establish this national park in Oregon on the coast in an area popularly known as the Oregon Dunes and to name it the RICHARD L. NEUBERGER National Seashore. Identical legislation is being cosponsored in the other body by Senator Mansfield and Senator Kuchel.

DICK NEUBERGER accomplished much for conservation in our country. He did it through his writings and by his record of legislative accomplishments in the Oregon State Legislature and here in our Nation's Capitol.

Conservationists throughout this country agree that the Oregon Dunes area is an outstanding scenic attraction. There is no real difference of opinion over whether this area has the necessary scenic stature to warrant its being a national park. There is some difference of opinion locally and in other parts of the State over the type and nature of such a park. But here, as in all the things that DICK NEUBERGER worked on, there have been negotiations and compromises. I know there will be more give and take before enactment to insure that the solution will be in the

best long-term public interest. DICK NEUBERGER was working toward that solution.

Mrs. Neuberger has said that she feels the renaming of the proposed national park would honor her husband. I believe such a memorial would serve as a lasting symbol of the great service RICHARD L. NEUBERGER rendered to our Nation in the field of conservation and of his own deep appreciation of the outdoors.

The revised bill I introduced today has an interesting history. It points up the remarkable ability DICK NEUBERGER had to combine the thoughts and suggestions of many people with his own ideas.

When Senator NEUBERGER introduced S. 2898 on January 25, 1960, he noted that it was a bill presented to him earlier the same month by Governor Hatfield and that the bill was largely modeled after legislation Senator NEUBERGER had originally proposed. DICK also pointed out that where he and the Governor were in disagreement he would rest his case and permit the Secretary of the Interior to act as the arbitrator on any of the differences.

The bill I introduced today represents an effort to proceed exactly along the lines outlined by the late Senator from Oregon.

NOT THE LAST WORD

I want to stress that this bill does not contain the last word on the proposed park. I am, however, confident that it will meet with the approval of the Department of the Interior and of the administration.

There certainly is time for Oregonians who are affected by this bill or who have an interest in it to express their views to me or to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. It is my hope that we can proceed on this bill on the basis DICK NEUBERGER worked from—a basis of understanding and an ability to agree on adjustments.

I am filing this revised bill because the Senators have agreed to do so and because I believe it should have consideration in the House at this time. It is not my idea of a per-

fect or even the best bill we can enact. I understand the administration has informally approved the legislation. I file the bill with the understanding that further amendments will be considered. Certainly I feel that the language of the bill ought to direct certain actions by the Secretary as well as to authorize them. I am confident that these problems can be worked out and that this lovely area can be preserved.

Interest in the proposed national seashore area in the Florence-Reedsport area has been intense. Proponents and opponents of the bill appeared before congressional investigating committees which traveled to Oregon to get first-hand information. In this House the Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Public Lands spent 2 days in the Fourth Congressional District looking over the proposed park area. My good friend and colleague from Idaho, the Honorable Gracie Pfost, was chairman of the House hearing in Florence last fall. At the hearing with her to meet with residents of the area were Representative J. Edgar Chenoweth and my great friend and colleague from eastern Oregon, Al Ullman.

Before that hearing I had sent to Gov. Mark Hatfield a letter in which I listed nine modifications which I felt should be studied to help formulate legislation so that the national seashore park could be established on a reasonable and fair basis. The modifications which I listed were:

NINE SUGGESTED MODIFICATIONS

1. Boundaries: These should be stated specifically in the bill. Sea Lion Caves should be omitted. The Crown Zellerbach tree farm lands should either be included entirely, in which case Lake Tahkenitch and the other lands in that vicinity should also be included, or they should be omitted completely. Please let me know your preference as to these alternatives and also with respect to the proposal to extend the southern boundaries to Ten Mile Creek.

2. Residents in the proposed park area who choose to remain shall be allowed to do so for their lives but of course paid fair value for their property minus the fair rental value for the period involved. Moreover, any children (along with their spouses) living at the time the park is formed would also be allowed life estates on the same basis.

3. School, hospital and other districts losing money because of land withdrawal will be paid sums in lieu of taxes. This was done at Jackson Hole in Wyoming.

4. Highway relocation done for the interests of the park would be paid for entirely by the Federal Government with no effect on matching funds for the State of Oregon.

5. The use of campgrounds and facilities but not admission to the park, should entail the payment of fees by the users so that the capital costs could ultimately be amortized.

6. Fishing and hunting of birds would be permitted subject to appropriate coordination of State and Federal regulations.

7. Industrial reservations for water under dunes and in lakes should be preserved consistent with park development. Particularly, an easement should be reserved across the south portion of the proposed area for a pipe to carry effluent to the ocean from a possible pulp plant in the Reedsport area.

8. Residents of the area who are renting boats, acting as guides or otherwise supplementing their incomes in ways consistent with the purposes of the proposed park should be allowed to continue these activities.

9. Sand dunes stabilization programs in key areas, such as adjacent to the Siuslaw River channel and near the highway, must be continued and improved.

HOW THE BILL MEASURES UP

I am glad to report today that the legislation I introduced contains a good part of these suggested modifications.

First. The Sea Lion Caves are omitted. The acreage of the Crown Zellerbach tree farm which had been included within the suggested park area has been substantially reduced—to 1,500 acres from 2,600 acres. These lands are distributed around Tahkenitch Lake. The suggested boundary revision is designed to keep the tree farm holdings reasonably intact.

The new bill extends the southern boundaries of the park to the area around Ten Mile Creek. It is still my hope that reductions in acreage may be made on the east side of Woahink Lake.

Second. The new bill contains language which would allow residents in the park to remain on their property, if it is not commercial, for a term not to exceed 25 years or for a term ending at the death of such owner, the death of his spouse,

or the day his last surviving child reaches the age of 21, whichever is the latest. The owner shall elect the term to be reserved. Owners of commercial property may remain for a term not to exceed 25 years under the terms of the proposed bill. If the owner wishes, he may convey or lease his property in whole, but not in part, during this time.

It is not clear whether an owner of land can build on it. This must be clarified.

Third. The Jackson Hole provision, which authorizes the payment of money in lieu of taxes to schools, hospitals and other districts which would lose money, is left in. This was suggested by Governor Hatfield in his bill. I understand that there may be Bureau of the Budget opposition, but I hope the Governor can help us resolve this provision.

Fourth. Should there be relocation of Highway 101 which is requested by the Secretary of the Interior such expense would be borne by the Secretary of the Interior.

Fifth. This suggested payment of fees falls under the general authority of the Park Service, I am informed.

Sixth. Language is included in the suggested revised bill which insures appropriate coordination of State and Federal regulations for fishing and hunting of birds. My own preference is that this language be directive, not permissive.

Seventh. There may be the use by industry of water under the dunes and in the lakes. An easement may be reserved across the park area for a pipe to carry effluent to the ocean from a possible pulp plant in the Reedsport area.

Eighth. I understand that residents who rent boats and otherwise have commercial enterprises would be allowed to continue such enterprises during the suggested 25-year period.

Ninth. The National Park Service assures me that sand dunes stabilization programs in key areas will be continued and improved.

Also the revised bill has changed the boundaries of the park, primarily as to the area surrounding Lake Tahkenitch. In lieu of acquiring the lands around Lake Tahkenitch imme-

diately, the same provisions would apply as apply to the Sea Lion Caves. So long as the lands are used for their present noncommercial purposes, or for forest management, they will not become a part of the park. However, should the present owners wish to change the use of the property, or to dispose of it to others who would change the use, the Federal Government will have an opportunity to purchase these lands. A few tracts on the south and east boundaries near Siltcoos Lake have also been excluded.

HE LOVED HIS PEOPLE AND HIS LAND

The National Park Service tells me that the primary park area as proposed in the bill I am introducing today is approximately 26,000 acres. This is a substantial reduction.

The bill I introduced originally, H.R. 6260, stated specifically that the acreage would not exceed 35,000 acres. The acreage described by the National Park Service at that time was approximately 26,000 acres. Under the language of the bill the size could be increased 340 acres if the Sea Lion Caves were ever added to it and another 10,000 acres if the Crown Zellerbach tree farm in the Tahkenitch Lake area were added. The tree farm would be added only if the company stopped using it as a tree farm.

I have recently asked the owners of property within the proposed park area to let me know the suggestions and objections they have. I will carefully consider them and will make them known to the committee when I receive them.

Senator Mansfield has suggested that there be placed in the park at an appropriate spot a plaque which would read:

"To RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, humanitarian and conservationist. He loved his people and his land."

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch]

SENATOR NEUBERGER

The untimely death of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, deprives not only his State but the Nation of a valuable public servant. At 41 the journalist and student of politics made political history himself by becoming Oregon's first Democratic Senator

in years; and it was his election that switched the Senate majority from Republican to Democratic after 2 years of the Eisenhower administration. He quickly proved himself a stalwart liberal though not a doctrinaire Democrat; he consistently supported the administration on foreign policy issues, fiscal, and monetary policy. Then, a little over a year ago, cancer struck him down. He recovered sufficiently to return to Washington for a time, devoting himself appropriately to the fight for funds for medical research. Yet now at 47 a cerebral hemorrhage has ended a promising career. The best measure of his quality is that after winning election in 1954 by the narrowest of margins he was entering this year's campaign with virtually no opposition to his reelection. The Nation will miss him.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Mar. 11, 1960]

DEATH'S SECOND CALL

The face of death was no stranger to Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. He had gazed into it in 1958, when he was informed he had cancer and that the cancer had spread.

"In those first hours," the Senator reported later in Harper's magazine, "I never thought of my seat in the Senate, of my bank account, or of the destiny of the free world. I worried over my cat, Muffet. Who would take care of him? What would happen to my wife when I was gone. And how would it feel to die?"

He never knew; he never emerged from the coma that followed a cerebral hemorrhage that struck him on Tuesday afternoon. But he had meanwhile learned something else; how to conquer fear, how to fight back against grim odds, how to accept the sudden, devastating proof of mortality and go on from there. Not even death could take that away from DICK NEUBERGER.

[From the Chicago Daily News, Mar. 11, 1960]

SENATOR NEUBERGER

Sometimes one might think it was a rule of the universe that the average man may accomplish only so much in a lifetime. Most of us struggle along to our 3 score and 10 without more than a small fraction of the achievements of U.S. Senator RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, Oregon Democrat, at his untimely death this week at 47.

As a member of the Oregon Legislature at 29, a prolific writer, lecturer, historian, world traveler, dedicated proponent of conservation, his flame burned brightly while it lasted.

His service in the U.S. Senate, beginning in 1954, was complicated by the rancorous attacks of his senior colleague, Wayne L. Morse. In this, as in other matters, he conducted himself with dignity and competence. He will be remembered as a superior man.

[From the Northern Virginia Sun, Mar. 10, 1960]

A Symbol of Young Courage, Intellect: Senator Richard L. Neuberger

The sudden, tragic death of Oregon's young Senator, Richard Neuberger, will be mourned far beyond the borders of his native State. For the things that Dick Neuberger fought for hold a special value and a higher meaning for mankind everywhere: human rights and the betterment of the lot of his fellow men.

A successful writer, Democrat Neuberger was attracted to politics by his admiration for the late George W. Norris, Nebraska's Republican liberal Senator. Together with his wife, Maurine, he served in the Oregon Legislature as the lone Democrat in a Republican State senate. He was the first Oregon Democrat to be elected to the U.S. Senate since 1914. But Dick Neuberger was a Democrat in the broader sense and so well did he serve his State that he was facing no serious opposition in his forthcoming reelection.

It was only a few months ago that he was assured he had conquered the cancer for which he had been operated on in 1958. His personal struggle against this dread disease won him respect and admiration throughout the Nation and he used his own experience and his position as Senator to campaign successfully for vastly increased medical research.

Following his cancer operation, he wrote: "A brush with cancer tends to place many things in true perspective * * * old antagonisms fade away. I can no longer transform political disagreements into any feelings of personal malice. When one is grateful to be alive, it is difficult to dislike a fellow human being."

For many Americans, Senator Neuberger symbolized young courage and intellect and a dedication to his convictions that were in the highest traditions of political democracy. He was also a vigorous advocate for conserving the Nation's natural resources and Senator Mike Mansfield's announcement of a bill to name the proposed Oregon Dunes National Park for Senator Neuberger would seem a fitting tribute to the memory of a courageous heart who, in the words of Mr. Mansfield, was "a star whose light remains."

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Northwest Ruralite, April 1960]

NEUBERGER

By the time you read this, the shock, the memorials and the outcry over the passing of Oregon's Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER will be, in considerable measure, things of the past.

But the sense of loss will remain for some time, partly because Mr. NEUBERGER, like F. D. Roosevelt, had a gift for making himself known to thousands on a deeply personal basis.

In the next few weeks, the loss will be felt in a number of practical, everyday ways. He was the principal Senate champion of the regional power corporation bill, the destiny of which he was carefully guiding through the Congress. From his key position on important Senate committees, he was uniquely fitted to find the difficult answers to issues between power and fisheries, between upriver and downriver interests.

The patient statesmanship required to save the public interest in matters of resource development is an exercise taxing of the greatest energies. Many will remember how Senator NEUBERGER took the time out to barnstorm his State in a series of debates over a proposed partnership sellout of the John Day Dam, and how he won.

The skills and abilities to do these things are rare.

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin, Mar. 11, 1960]

THE MAN WHO GREW

It is a tragic loss to the country that a man like Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, should have been fatally stricken when he was only 47 years old, and when he had apparently won a long and hard battle against cancer.

NEUBERGER was a man who grew with every day's experience in public life. A dozen years ago he was an editorial writer with a crusader's zeal. To him then everything seemed either black or white. But his experiences in politics, and particularly after he went to Washington, led him to see that on most issues there were only varying shades of gray. His views were greatly tempered through his contacts with men of different opinions and he was quick to take advantage of their knowledge.

Those who knew him well found him a better companion and far more interesting than when he was so violently partisan on many public issues. His untimely death has taken from the Senate a man with unusual promise.

[From the Washington Teamster, Mar. 11, 1960]

DICK NEUBERGER'S FINAL REMARKS—AN OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE

"Why not utilize the enthusiasm and talents of American youth to help sell democracy abroad? Representative Henry Reuss, of Wisconsin, has introduced legislation to help accomplish this purpose. He proposes a nongovernmental study of the advisability and practicability of establishing a Point 4 Youth Corps through which young men and women might serve around the world in U.S. technical cooperation programs. I have introduced identical legislation in the Senate.

"Such a program could well be a powerful force for increased world understanding. It would add manpower to carry out economic programs in underdeveloped nations, personally acquaint citizens in other lands of American ideals and aspirations, and provide American young people with an opportunity to serve their country in a stimulating fashion. One of the questions to be considered in the suggested study is whether service in the corps should be considered as satisfying military service obligations. In the current cold war, we need persons with the ability to set up a rural school in the jungle as well as those with knowledge of how to operate a machinegun. How could we better explain the United States and its desire for world peace than through sending to aid needy nations our most valuable commodity—our youth."

The above paragraphs are excerpted from what will probably be the last edition of "Washington Calling," volume 6, No. 9, a column to the Oregon constitutents of the late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER. He passed away early Wednesday morning at age 47.

Not only will your editor of the Washington Teamster miss DICK NEUBERGER as a friend in the writing trade, but the State of Oregon, and indeed, the Nation will be the worse off for his untimely demise.

He was on his sixth year in the Senate and gearing for reelection. His love of Oregon and the whole Pacific Northwest is reflected in his abundant writings and his progressive voting record in Congress.

We certainly don't advocate that Congress can stand more journalists in its hallowed halls, but we do believe that NEUBERGER was a credit to his first profession and a real champion in every sense of the word for his home State. He loved its people, cities, towns, and hamlets; its whistling winds on the hillsides; its ever-changing climate, beauty and native warmth.

And as an Oregonian he was a good neighbor to Washington. Best of all, he was a true friend of the workingman and his family.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Washington Daily News, Mar. 10, 1960]

MAN WHO DIDN'T COME BACK

(By Ed Koterba)

It was as he had left it 6 weeks before. It was a private office desk laden with impediment that told much of his character—the tiny statue of Thomas Jefferson, the 4–H emblem fused into a glass paperweight, the little felt donkey, the loaded desk calendar with speaking dates into April, and the books he had read or left unread.

This man of 47 years had no reason to believe he wouldn't return from Portland to his senatorial office soon, despite the words in the eulogy by Oregon's other Senator that "DICK NEUBERGER knew death was not long away * * *."

The heavy leather desk chair of RICHARD L. NEUBERGER was symbolically turned toward his typewriter, a machine rarely found in the private office of a U.S. Senator.

He was a prodigous writer. After his cancer operation, his staff knew he must rest. They rolled in a long black leather couch and set it in his room behind the desk.

And now Mary Jane Cox, his receptionist, was saying: "He never used it. * * * Instead of resting, he'd be at the typewriter."

Under the glass top the Senator had slipped a solitary entry, a billfold-size picture of an attractive woman, with her name typed in capital letters in the bottom margin, Maurine.

Along the wall there were the customary celebrities with penned personal notes, but the prominent spots went to his family. There was a picture of two of his nieces and one of the family cat, Muffet, a Manx.

Even for those who simply passed by room 115 there was a strong display of his personality, his philosophy. He had fought to save the vast resources of the Northwest's great outdoors, and there on the outside door hung a framed color photograph of Mount Hood with long-stemmed pink rhododendrons in the sloping foreground.

The book on the center of his desk remained as he had closed it—"America's Wonderland—The National Parks." It was one of the last books he had reviewed for the New York Times.

Strangely enough, what Senator NEUBERGER would not have been able to do in life he was able to accomplish in death. He had stayed—at least, temporarily—the harangue and anger of a Chamber torn against itself.

For 3½ hours the men and a lady of the Senate laid aside the bickering on civil rights to praise, as one, the works of the colleague who had now gone on to other things. And then they adjourned.

The sudden passing of Senator NEUBERGER also brought to an end the personal and painful assault against him by the colleague of his own State.

Now Senator Wayne Morse droned on in eulogy for 25 minutes. Before closing, however, Senator Morse observed that when DICK NEUBERGER left Washington for a rest in Portland the young Senator must have felt he would never return—that he was going to die soon.

But even in death Senator NEUBERGER disagreed with the senior Senator from Oregon.

For on the Senator's date calendar stands this entry: "Talk on cancer, luncheon, Friday, April 1, Philadelphia."

[From the Trainman News, Mar. 14, 1960]

HE WILL BE MISSED

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER'S untimely death at the age of 47 represents a deep loss for the entire Nation. He was a battler for justice for all who make up our citizenry.

A dedicated proponent of liberalism, he also could be depended upon to do his utmost to bolster the welfare and advancement of the little fellows.

The Oregon Democrat many times was found on the firing line for organized labor. He delivered his abilities to other causes which to him represented a sense of fairness.

Senator NEUBERGER will be missed on the national scene.

[From the Watertown (N.Y.) Daily Times, Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

The able newspaperman who became Oregon's junior Senator, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, died unexpectedly early today at his home in Portland, Oreg. Having won sensationally in 1954 as a Democrat from a Republican State, Senator NEUBERGER had filed only last week his intentions of seeking reelection. He suffered a cerebral hemorrhage following several weeks of illness when he had been beset by a series of virus infections.

At the age of 47, Senator NEUBERGER has been a most wholesome influence during the last 6 years of his life as a U.S. Senator and also in the 20 or so years before in which he was a prominent writer for newspapers and magazines. His interests primarily were in the conservation of natural and human resources. As a resident

of the Far West, he believed sincerely in the public protection of the forests, the waters and the growing foods, whether they were on land or the fish of the seas. His writings on these subjects, as well as his advocacy of these conservation matters in the U.S. Senate, will be of great value as the years go on in the development of a sound conservation policy.

As a believer in the public's ownership of the resources, he was particularly effective in publicizing the hydroelectric power developments of the Northwest. He was a strong advocate of the public development of atomic energy. He genuinely considered that the American citizen had the primary right to enjoy the huge power resources of the Nation.

The fact that he was a writer made him particularly articulate. Thus, he conveyed in terms that people could understand effectively the story of this Nation's resources. Unfortunately for him, he was not old enough in the 1930's to be a part of the huge governmental resource programs of that day. Many had been undertaken and even completed before he was old enough to work in their behalf. Yet, he was able to appreciate, after the development, their importance to the American people, and, thus, write ably about them in proposing programs which are yet to come. The things that he has been writing and saying since World War II will come to pass as the years go on and they will take place because of what he did and how he wrote before his death.

[From IUE News, Mar. 14, 1960]

NEUBERGER MOURNED BY IEU

When Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat of Oregon, died last week of a cerebral hemorrhage the labor movement "lost an invaluable friend, counselor, and brother," IEU President James B. Carey wrote Mrs. Neuberger.

(As a long-time member of the American Newspaper Guild, AFL–CIO, NEUBERGER was a fellow unionist.)

The widow of the man mourned by the Nation's workers, whose welfare he served with unique idealism and selfless devotion, is expected to pick up where her crusading husband left off.

However, she will not be able to fill out her husband's term. Although recommended by the State Democratic organization, Mrs. Neuberger will not be appointed by Oregon's Republican Governor. Governor Hatfield has said he will not appoint anyone who is an active candidate for the full term.

Mrs. Neuberger, who built up a distinguished record during three terms as a State representative will be a candidate for the Democratic nomination.

Carey wrote the Senator's widow: "More than words can convey, I feel a deep personal loss in DICK NEUBERGER'S death; and the Democratic labor movement, I know, must also feel a sense of personal bereavement.

"DICK'S passing is a tragic loss for the U.S. Senate and for the American people, particularly the Nation's working men and women whose welfare he served with unique idealism and selfless devotion.

"DICK surely was one of the most sensitive and articulate liberals of our time, but most important this liberalism was animated not only by logic, reason, and vision, but also by a pervading compassion and humanitarianism. He was his brother's keeper and he loved his fellow man, as his writings so frequently revealed. He felt a debt not alone to his country and to the world he lived in, but also to the generations to come—the children, the men and women who will inherit the world we build. * * *

"We of the labor movement have lost an invaluable friend, counselor, and brother. The Nation has lost a superb leader endowed with the rarest qualities of heart, insight, and devotion to justice, human dignity, and the brotherhood of man.

"DICK NEUBERGER made our world a finer and more promising place to live in; his departure from our ranks should inspire us to more vigorous advocacy of the causes of fraternity and economic democracy to which he devoted his fertile mind and great heart."

[From the Enginemen's Press, Mar. 18, 1960]

OREGON'S LIBERAL NEUBERGER DIES

PORTLAND, OREG.—Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, long a supporter of liberal legislation and an ardent backer of equal rights for the laboring man, died of a cerebral hemorrhage at his home on March 9, 1960.

NEUBERGER made political history in 1954 when he became the first Oregon Democrat to be elected to the U.S. Senate since 1914 and the feat sparked a Democratic upsurge in the State.

NEUBERGER has backed every liberal piece of legislation to come before the Senate since his election in 1954. In this respect his voting record has differed little from that of his senatorial partner from the State of Oregon, Wayne L. Morse. Both were extremely liberal and only in the field of foreign policy did Morse and NEUBERGER differ. Vice President, National Legislative Representative A. M. Lampley, upon hearing of Senator NEUBERGER'S death said, "He was one of the finest men in the U.S. Senate. You could always depend upon this man being on the liberal side of every issue. At no time in his senatorial career was he found wanting

when legislation designed for the workingman was before that body. His leadership will be sorely missed by those of us who learned to respect him as a man dedicated to the service of his fellow men." NEUBERGER served as a member of the Oregon State Senate from 1949 until 1954 when he was elected to the U.S. Senate. Before that time he worked as a newspaperman and his articles and books have been widely published.

Senator and Mrs. Richard Neuberger had often been described as a political team. He, himself, referred to her as "the better half of his senatorial team." She is a proven votegetter and probably this accounts for the fact that many influential Democrats are anxious to have her appointed to serve out the unexpired term of her husband. She has indicated that she would do so. Under Oregon law, the Governor must appoint a Democrat to serve in the interim until the coming November elections.

[From the International Woodworker, Mar. 23, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Oregon's late Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER was a man of many talents and skills. He was determined and forthright in his beliefs. His untimely death is a loss not only to the people of Oregon, but to the Nation and to his many friends abroad.

He was grossly criticized by some Republican political hacks for articles that he had published in the leading magazines of this country. Yet the fact that he was well known and highly regarded as a writer lent a great deal of support to the validity of the positions he took on many matters before the Senate.

It is safe to say that on some issues before the Senate he probably wrote more informed articles about the legislation to be considered than many of his less-informed colleagues ever read about the subjects.

No one could ever have accused Senator NEUBERGER of simply having an "intellectual veneer" for his writings proved his depth of understanding and profound knowledge and sympathy for his fellow man.

NEUBERGER knew Oregon better than many of us know the palm of our hand. Knowing Oregon, he knew its great needs in the areas of conservation and development of its natural resources.

He had the vision to transmit the needs of today into the planning for tomorrow.

There could be no more appropriate tribute to this man than to rename the John Day Dam now being constructed on the Columbia River as a lasting memorial to Senator RICHARD L. NEU-

BERGER who during his lifetime believed in and worked toward the full development of the Columbia River Basin for the benefit of all the people.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer]

SENATOR NEUBERGER'S DEATH CUT OFF PROMISING CAREER

The untimely death of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER of Oregon came at a period of his career when he was at the brink of emerging as a potent Senate force.

He had spent 5 years in Congress and at first may have been looked upon by some as a bit too vocal for a newcomer.

But the Senator was gaining in his own perspective, learning from experience. He even had broken with his old mentor, Senator Wayne Morse—an event which alone improved his stature. Moreover, he was in fact highly knowledgeable, particularly on conservation. His views on that subject were highly regarded.

Had he lived to be reelected this year—he was an odds-on favorite—he might have become one of the true stalwarts of the Senate. He had the intellect and despite serious illneses, a tremendous vitality.

His change in thinking was illustrated last year when he wrote this:

"A brush with cancer tends to place many things in true perspective. Old antagonisms fade away. I no longer can transform political disagreement into any feelings of personal malice. When one is grateful to be alive, it is difficult to dislike a fellow human being."

There, in a paragraph, is a cue for many of us—and especially for the Senator's lawmaking comrades, whether they be flaming liberals or otherwise.

[From the International Woodworker, Mar. 23, 1960—Reprinted from the Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Globe and Mail]

SENATOR NEUBERGER KNEW, CARED ABOUT CANADA

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, who died in Portland, Oreg., was a true friend of Canada.

It was his belief that ties between this country and the United States were so close and unquestioned, both in war and in peace, that nothing should be done to strain them. He took the trouble to visit Canada—not once, but many times—in determined attempts to

understand our people, our problems and our complaints against the United States.

He praised the Canadian family allowance program as a great social experiment for the United States to study and copy; and at one time advocated formation of a police force modeled after the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to protect the voting rights and lives of Negroes in the Southern States.

He was one of the first to offer a resolution in the U.S. Senate to create a joint Senate-House of Representatives committee to study Canada-United States relations.

Not all Mr. NEUBERGER's suggestions were acceptable to Canadians. His bill calling for joint action by the two countries to pave the Alaska Highway was cooly received in Ottawa; and Canadians were incensed by his suggestions that the two countries join together to form one great North American community.

But Mr. NEUBERGER did care something about Canada, and he did know something about Canada—which is more than could be said for many or most of his colleagues in Washington.

[From the Intermountain Jewish News, Mar. 18, 1960]

ADL, AMC MOURN SENATOR NEUBERGER

The Anti-Defamation League has lost a good friend and B'nai B'rith member and the Nation a great statesman. So said Sheldon Steinhauser, ADL regional director, who voiced the shock and regret of ADL leaders at the sudden passing of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER at 47.

Funeral services were held Sunday at Temple Beth Israel in Portland. One thousand five hundred attended.

Senator NEUBERGER'S last appearance in Denver, November 15, 1959, was to speak at the American Medical Center Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Institute and at ADL's "Torch of Liberty" award dinner. He was accompanied by his wife, Maurine, a candidate for his Senate seat.

IGNORED INJURY

Unknown to all but a handful of ADL leaders, the Senator's very presence in Denver was an example of his courage and refusal to permit his health to interfere with his championing of causes which were important to him, said Steinhauser. The Senator had suffered a painful injury only a week before the meeting but insisted upon fulfilling the commitment although encased in a heavy brace to protect several fractured ribs.

Steinhauser recalled the Senator's obvious sincerity in urging the 400 ADL leaders to maintain a steady fight on behalf of the rights of mankind. "The history of the protection of civil rights," Senator NEUBERGER emphasized, "is one of erosion of resistance through the continuing abrasive action of organized and articulate groups such as the Anti-Defamation League."

LAUDED LEGISLATURE

The Senator praised the Colorado General Assembly as the first legislature to enact a fair housing act.

The use of political anti-Semitism against Senator NEUBERGER backfired in the 1954 election.

Steinhauser called Senator NEUBERGER "one of the most dedicated, sincere, and competent champions of civil rights and other liberal and humanitarian causes. His loss leaves a void in public life which will not be easily filled."

AMC REGRETS

The Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Cancer Research of the American Medical Center lost an avid supporter with the tragic death of Senator NEUBERGER.

A sponsor of the institution and himself a sufferer of cancer, Senator NEUBERGER participated in ground-breaking exercises November 16, 1959, for the $2 million institute building.

Leaning heavily on his experience with cancer, he stressed the need for funds to carry out cancer research at an institution such as American Medical Center.

Senator NEUBERGER was a member of the development committee of the institution headed by Representative James Roosevelt.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD NEUBERGER

Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER was a liberal Democrat, a man avidly interested in government benefiting the people. His position was excessively progressive, often, in our opinion.

But NEUBERGER had two sterling traits: He possessed unusual personal courage, as witness his determined fight against cancer. Secondly, he believed in people paying attention to politics since politics is the device of the people's government.

He wrote well. His interests were broad. He added something of value to the Senate and to American public life. His death from cerebral hemorrhage properly is cause for sincere mourning.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Journal, Mar. 11, 1960]

Senator Neuberger

After Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon Democrat, had successfully undergone a cancer operation he so beautifully and touchingly said: "A brush with cancer tends to place many things in true perspective * * * old antagonisms fade away. I no longer can transform political disagreements into any feeling of personal malice. When one is grateful to be alive, it is difficult to dislike a fellow human being."

Neuberger was once an extremely controversial figure in politics. He mellowed with his service in the Senate. Oregon editors also mellowed. Many fought him heatedly in his 1954 campaign. In recent months they had praised him.

At one time Neuberger and Wayne Morse, companion Democratic Senator from Oregon, were close friends. It is to Neuberger's credit that he parted with the vindicative Morse. Morse once had even threatened to campaign against Neuberger who had announced for reelection and almost without opposition.

Now death suddenly takes Mr. Neuberger, not from cancer but a cerebral hemorrhage. And in the very prime of life. He was 47.

Neuberger was a writer of national fame. He was a spirited liberal but injected logic and fairness into all his political actions and thinking.

He was a champion of government ownership, particularly natural resources covering water and power projects.

Senator Neuberger's death removes from the scene a distinguished Senator and citizen.

[From the Tarpon Springs (Fla.) Leader]

Tragic Loss of Brilliant Leader

The death of Senator Richard Neuberger, of Oregon, from a cerebral hemorrhage at the age of 47 is doubly sad because of the Senator's gallant fight, and apparent victory, against cancer.

Since the closing date to file for Senator in Oregon ends tomorrow, Mr. Neuberger's death throws that State into an even greater confusion. So popular was the junior Senator that even the Republicans were entering only token opposition to his candidacy.

But the greater loss is the Nation's. Senator Neuberger had that precious combination of unswerving liberalism and level-headed moderation which kept him from trying to remake all our social and political institutions in a day. There are all too few such statesmen in Washington. The people of every State have lost a wise and good friend.

[From the Locomotive Engineer, Mar. 25, 1960]

LOSS OF A FRIEND

First in the Oregon Legislature and later in the U.S. Senate, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER was a warm friend of rail labor.

The Senator was a writer and newspaperman before entering politics in 1940. He served as the New York Times correspondent in the Pacific Northwest.

He wrote many fine travel articles for popular magazines and many of them were good boosts for rail travel.

His death from a cerebral hemorrhage came as an extra shock because of his seeming victory over cancer two years ago.

At 47 he was far too young to die. Although he leaves a splendid record of service, he had much more to contribute.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, Mar. 11, 1960]

NEUBERGER'S DEATH CALLED GRIEVOUS LOSS TO OREGON

GARDINER, OREG.

TO THE EDITOR: This is the first time I ever have written a letter to the editor. I hope it may be the last.

In my many years in Oregon, this State has suffered no greater loss than in the death of U.S. Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER—at the peak of his public service.

DICK and I differed politically, but we worked together on many occasions and earned each other's respect.

The first of these occasions was the great fight to reduce the compulsory student athletic fees in the bitter depression year 1933; the fee had been $5 per term; DICK and his group asked for a cut to $2.50.

The athletic gang (which had conspired to make DICK editor of the Emerald with the mistaken notion they could control him) balked at any fee cut. A bill was introduced in the 1933 legislature.

DICK, Gene Allen, and Steve Kahn came to my house one evening and asked if I would appear with them the following morning at a public hearing on their bill in Salem; they promised to pick me up at 6:30 a.m. with a car.

The ride to Salem in that old open "jalopy" was almost as rugged as a trip to the North Pole, but in spite of icy roads we made it in time.

The chairman of the committee, a long-time friend of mine, gave us a courteous hearing, and when it was over—toward noon—we felt we had accomplished a blow for justice. Imagine my sur-

prise when, on my way down the stairs in the old statehouse, I encountered the late Harry Crain, of the Salem Capital Journal.

Harry wanted to know why I was in Salem and when I told him he laughed heartily.

"Bill, you've been suckered, you and those 'kids.' That committee signed a 'do not pass' last night and the House buried the measure this morning while you were in there arguing to the committee."

I dashed back to the committee room and seldom have I blasted any man as I did my friend, the committee chairman (his apologies were very feeble).

On the way home to Eugene, DICK and the boys planned an initiative to repeal the compulsory student fee entirely—and that was done, when we took the case to the voters.

This and other student fights undoubtedly led to the efforts to drive DICK out of the University of Oregon Law School a year later and to the vicious slanders which were propagated 20 years later in the campaign of 1954. It was my privilege to contradict those slanders, knowing the whole story, chapter and verse.

During the last year Senator NEUBERGER and I worked together for the great Oregon Coast (Dunes) Seashore project—a far-sighted program of restoration and conservation which I can only hope will not be impaired by his death.

WILLIAM M. TUGMAN.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, Mar. 9, 1960]

DICK NEUBERGER EARNED HIS WAY

DICK NEUBERGER earned his way to greatness. Oregon's junior Senator, whose life was ended abruptly Wednesday morning at the peak of his public career, was not born to it, did not have it thrust upon him. He earned it, every step of the way, by hard work, devotion to duty, loyalty to friends and an abiding belief in certain principles. This was recognized, even by those who considered themselves his political enemies. Their expressons of regret, which rolled in Wednesday morning, were sincere.

It was not always so with DICK NEUBERGER. In his legislative career he had enemies aplenty. In the 1954 senatorial campaign he came through with a narrow victory only after putting up with an avalanche of personal abuse. Few men have gone to the Senate with more handicaps. Those who opposed him in the election vowed to oppose him in office, too. That the situation was so different less than six years later was a credit to DICK. He turned the other cheek time and time again, demonstrating that

he wanted to be a good Senator. By the time of his death even his earlier opponents believed him.

He was a native son, born here, educated here. He lived in Oregon. Washington, D.C., and its heady atmosphere was to him never more than a temporary duty station. Oregon was home. It is signficant that in his illness he chose to return to Portland rather than to undergo medical treatment in the Capital. He died in Oregon, too, which must have been the place he wanted to die. Anybody who ever sat on a bluff at Ecola State Park with DICK NEUBERGER and who had watched him enjoy Oregon, with a zestful, positive enjoyment, can understand his affection for his native State.

He always worked hard. At the university, where he was the fiery, unorthodox, controversial editor of the Oregon Daily Emerald, he outworked everybody around him. His personal correspondence was always tremendous. He wrote—letters, magazine articles, speeches, news stories, essays, anything. He would stop writing only when he stopped breathing.

Even with his heavy Senate load, he continued to pour out a volume of writing that would have staggered many a full-time author. His doctors told him to slow down, and he promised he would. He tried, too. But slowing down was the hardest work of all. His friends, those who had known him in more relaxed days, talked among themselves about his overwork, about his ashen color, about his obvious loss of weight. But he continued working, achieving fame and respect.

Through it all he remained a nice guy, always thoughtful, always interested. Childless himself, he maintained a deep interest in students—university students, high school students. He gave up more profitable patronage privileges in exchange for the right to appoint pages in the Senate.

It was neither irreverence nor disrespect that caused his friends Tuesday night and early Wednesday to begin the grim and seemingly callous speculation about his successor. The work of Government must go on. And it was an unfortunate accident of fate that had the Oregon senatorial contest thrown wide open only hours before the legal deadline. This frantic jockeying for position, this swapping of estimates of strength, is something DICK would have understood. There is just nothing else that can be done as the clock ticks toward 5 p.m. Friday.

It will be Oregon's good fortune if we can do as well in finding a successor. Let us hope he is as devoted to duty, as energetic and as fine a man.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Coos Bay (Oreg.) World, Mar. 9, 1960]

Too Much To Do in One Lifetime

Dick Neuberger couldn't turn it off.

Always a man of driving energy and possessor of a bottomless well of ideas, he apparently was unable to adjust his pace to his physical condition after his development of cancer and the long, enervating treatments he underwent in the successful battle against it.

There was simply too much to be done in this world for Oregon's foremost author of ideas and exponent of discussion to be still.

His inability to reduce his pace, to leave off the constant telephoning and writing, discussing and worrying, must in the final analysis have caused his death.

Under the best circumstances, his friends understood, his life expectancy had been cut by the radiation treatments which eradicated the malignancies. But this still meant years of fruitful service to his people—at a normal man's pace. Dick Neuberger was not a normal man when it came to work. And so the expectancy of years was erased.

Neuberger was unusual on the Washington scene. He never found it necessary to become a Washingtonian. If he had represented Oregon in the Senate for 50 years, instead of 5, he would still have been chafing to return to the green hills and sandy shores of his home country. He still would have been irritated at his enforced stay in the Potomac swamp.

I will always recall a luncheon with Dick Neuberger in the summer of 1957—it was the day which the Senate passed the Hells Canyon Federal dam bill—during which he expressed his personal frustrations at being in Washington.

"I don't think I will run for reelection," he said.

"I feel as if I were in jail, here. I can't write any more. I haven't time to get away with a typewriter and think and write," said America's most successful freelance writer.

"I haven't been able to go camping or hiking. I haven't been able to sit by a mountain stream or walk along a beach and listen to the surf.

"I don't like it here that well," he said.

But then under my doubtful questioning, he admitted that the elaborate courtesies shown a Senator and the rarefied atmosphere of the most exclusive club in America, were enticements difficult to resist, and that if he resisted them, he would be a rarity indeed.

Yet he might not have run for reelection if it hadn't been for another factor, more powerful than the natural attractions of Senate prerequisites.

That factor would have been pride.

There has never been any doubt in anybody's mind, including DICK NEUBERGER'S, that his first election was achieved on the coattails of Wayne Morse. Everyone's first election is generally achieved on someone's coattails, but this was especially true in the case of NEUBERGER, the first liberal Democrat elected in a statewide race for many, many years, and doing it with the vigorous backing of Oregon's newest Democrat, Senator Morse.

As a result, NEUBERGER was sometimes downgraded as a creature of Morse. Even after the idea became ridiculous, there was the constant intimation that NEUBERGER could not have made it on his own.

He wanted to make it on his own.

There's no doubt in anybody's mind that he would have done so. Up to the moment of his death he was virtually unopposed by a serious candidate, Democrat or Republican. His support split party lines in every direction. This was the result of his exemplary record in the Senate—a record of achievement for his Nation as well as for his State and party.

After life leaves, what is left?

The impression which remains after we are no longer able to answer earthly questioning is the sum total of our life, the remaining assets after the debits have been subtracted.

In the case of DICK NEUBERGER, the sum of life is great. He leaves behind a river of ideas and a reservoir of principle. These will inspire others.

When the unimportant factors are forgotten, his vigorous advocacy of democracy, education, charity, and tolerance will remain.

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Capital Journal, Mar. 9, 1960]

DEATH OF A SENATOR

DICK NEUBERGER, as a young man, always "knew where he was going," his detractors said.

But he didn't. Most of these detractors, almost all of whom became friends as the years passed, now agree that DICK didn't really know until the past year or so.

He grew rapidly in the Senate. And he matured as his health waned.

Those who said the change was phony were either talking through political purpose or through their hat.

For example, NEUBERGER called a Republican friend for advice on the recent hassle over the Oregon sand dunes proposal. It was this friend's advice that led to the compromise which prob-

ably will result in establishment of a national park on the coast. Yet it had become a perfect political issue, with all of the plus aspects on NEUBERGER's side. There's no doubt NEUBERGER wanted the park more than he wanted the political points.

Two months ago we gave a bit of gratuitous editorial advice. We pointed out that the Senator worked too hard on too many things (the Senate, politics, writing, speaking, etc.). We said that he should concentrate on being a Senator in the purest sense and let his body recuperate from the series of minor and major illnesses. We wondered if he could slow down and guessed that he had a bad case of Potomac fever—that he couldn't stop running.

But he did stop. Soon thereafter he settled down at home for a rest. But it was too late.

The job takes a lot out of a man, even a man who like NEUBERGER is apparently immune to fatigue.

NEUBERGER, as a writer, appreciated the dramatic. And the end of his career came dramatically, almost on the eve of the deadline for filing for his office. As a political historian he had a keen feeling for reputation beyond the present. One of his dreams of recent times was to have a place in history among the selfless, nonpartisan greats of the Senate. He didn't live long enough, in all probability, to achieve this. But he never had been more popular, and that popularity had nothing to do with party affiliations.

[From the Ashland (Oreg.) Tidings, Mar. 11, 1960]

SENATOR RICHARD NEUBERGER

Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, of Oregon, is dead at the age of 47, struck down by a stroke after apparently successfully fighting off cancer.

Even though Senator NEUBERGER died in the prime of life, he had achieved fame in two separate careers. Long before he became a member of the U.S. Senate he was nationally known as a writer. His command of the printed word was unusually good.

As a Senator he worked long and hard to achieve the goals in which he believed. During later years even his Republican opponents agree that he had matured and become a strong voice for his beloved State of Oregon.

There is little doubt but that he would have been returned to the Senate again this year with the backing of the majority of the voters of the State. His loss will be a blow to the people of Oregon and an unusually hard blow to the Democratic Party which will find his shoes hard to fill.

[From the Medford (Oreg.) Mail Tribune, Mar. 9, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

DICK NEUBERGER'S death this morning at the age of 47—what should have been the prime of his useful life—robs the State of one of its outstanding public servants.

Since his high school and university days, DICK NEUBERGER has been a controversial character, hated by some, devotedly admired by others. But very few people felt "neutral" about him.

From the days when, as editor of the daily Emerald at the University of Oregon, he battled student leaders, administrative figures and faculty members, raising blood pressures and temperatures as he went, DICK has relished a fight.

Even in the last few years of his life, when he had mellowed considerably, he didn't back away from a battle which he felt important.

But particularly following his cancer operation, his sense of values underwent a considerable change, and partisanship no longer was a deciding factor in his thinking.

During his 5 years in the Senate (which started out with the "squirrels on the White House lawn" controversy, and which brought him both notoriety and ridicule), he became less strident, less combative, less convinced of his own omnipotence.

And, following his successful fight to save the great pine forests of the Klamath Indian Reservation from destruction, he was acknowledged throughout the State for a statesmanlike approach to matters of concern to Oregon.

He went to the Senate as a champion of conservation, and he remained one. He sought increased appropriations for the Forest Service, the national parks, and the other Federal agencies charged with the responsibility for the conservation and protection of the Nation's outdoor resources. He fought for the multiple use concept, and, within it, for single-use of resources which justify such treatment.

No public official of today is more responsible for what success this Nation has had in this field.

But his interests ranged wider than this. He was also a champion of education, of health research, and of a better chance for a happy life and a higher standard of living for the people of this Nation, no matter what their station in life.

And now, just as his growing maturity was bringing him to what could have been his most useful and most influential years, he is felled by a stroke—brought on, in no small measure, by the steady, constant grind of work which sapped his strength and vigor.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER, 47, will go down in the State's history as one of the great public servants of this generation.

Nor will his stature be diminished by the fact that he had his enemies. Rather it will be enhanced.

For a man often is judged more accurately by the enemies he makes than by his friends. And, particularly in the last year or so, DICK NEUBERGER'S enemies did him great credit—credit which will be accorded him for years to come.

[From the Oregon Journal, Portland, Oreg., Mar. 10, 1960]

SENATOR NEUBERGER'S DEATH TRAGIC LOSS

The untimely death of Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is doubly saddening because it came after it seemed he had won a victory over cancer, which had once before taken him into "the valley of the shadow."

Cancer was not the direct cause of death, though one might assume that it contributed to a loss of resistance which, coupled with his habit of mercilessly driving himself, made him prey to other ills.

The sadness which comes now has no partisan lines, for DICK NEUBERGER had countless friends at National, State, and local levels whose political beliefs were different from his own.

So full and varied was his life that his activities cannot be summarized and appraised in the space permitted here.

Never one to hide his light under a bushel, NEUBERGER early found himself in the spotlight, often in the middle of controversy, on which he seemed to thrive. He had a penchant for presenting new and novel ideas and he would fight for them against seemingly impossible odds. He was a master of words, and for his opponents he put plenty of sting in them.

But nobody can speak of NEUBERGER now without reference to his mellowing. The Senator himself traced this primarily to his earlier brush with death from cancer, and he often said: "I no longer can transform political disagreement into any feelings of personal malice. When one is grateful to be alive, it is difficult to dislike a fellow human being."

It was our observation that the maturing process began before his cancer illness. NEUBERGER turned away from extreme partisanship to accomplish things which could have not been done on a partisan basis. One of the most notable examples was his leadership in helping to win administration-sponsored legislation to protect Klamath Indians Reservation timber involved in termi-

nation. This was in line with his consistent effort in behalf of conservation of natural resources and coordinated basin development.

He fought unreservedly for many phases of administration foreign policy, even while under attack from constituents at home for so doing. While he believed that the Federal Government should actively do many things to better the lot of the people, functions which others believed should be left to private enterprise and the States, NEUBERGER developed a sense of fiscal responsibility. This was reflected in his espousal of unpopular increases in the Federal gasoline tax and postal rates.

In his recent effort to win a national seashore recreation area on the Oregon coast, he went to extreme lengths to get the cooperation of the State administration when it first seemed hostile to the proposal.

In his role as a freelance writer, NEUBERGER did more than any other citizen to publicize Oregon nationally. His writings were eagerly accepted in the top publications, and they reflected his profound love for this State. This reached a climax in Oregon's centennial year when NEUBERGER's articles reached a wider audience than could possibly otherwise have been won.

NEUBERGER's experience with cancer heightened an already held interest in the public health field. He wrote and worked tirelessly in behalf of a step-up in cancer research, using his own illness to dramatize the need. It may be that in looking back over his life this is the thing in which he would have taken most pride.

DICK NEUBERGER will be remembered for his flashing mind, his restless energy, his widespread interest, his remarkable talent for research, analysis, and communication. But influencing everything he did was his love and sympathy for and his understanding of his fellows, their hopes and problems.

He could be militantly independent and tough minded in a fight for a principle. But he didn't want to hurt anyone personally, not even his severest critic. He wanted instead to encourage and help people, the underprivileged, the ill, the aspiring. No matter how great the demands upon his time and energy, no matter how complex the issues he tried to resolve, he always found time to think of his friends throughout his State and Nation, especially those in trouble. To them he was foremost a true friend with a great heart.

This newspaper had its differences with NEUBERGER in the past. It did not support him in 1954, and he and we exchanged some harsh words. But in the last few years this had been changed into a mutual respect. We consider that NEUBERGER has been an out-

standing American and citizen of Oregon. We profoundly regret his loss to the Nation and the State. Our deepest sympathy goes to his wife, Maurine, and other members of his family.

[From the East Oregonian, Pendleton, Oreg., Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

It isn't going to be easy to write this. It never is easy to write of a friend who has been taken by death. This is so very difficult because my friendship with DICK NEUBERGER goes back to the days when we were kids learning to be newspapermen. It was a friendship that came, over the years, to mean more to me than I can express to you.

DICK NEUBERGER'S death is a tragedy for so many people, not alone his friends. There was so much ahead for him to do, tasks that no one else in Oregon could do as well.

Before he went to the U.S. Senate he was established as a writer whose stories on any subject were sought by all the best magazines and by such great newspapers as the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

In less than 6 years in the U.S. Senate he became a statesman who was admired and respected by men on both sides of the aisle for his intellect, his capacity to serve the people of his State, and his fairness and tolerance.

Because of the respect Members of both parties had for him, he was getting more and more done for Oregon. He worked as effectively with many Republicans as he did with Democrats in the Senate. Members of the Republican Party in Oregon knew that he would unfailingly place the interests of all citizens of Oregon ahead of any other consideration. They knew that they need not hesitate about going to him with their problems.

A few days ago he told me he intended to serve (if Oregonians desired that he should) one more term in the Senate. He wanted to do that because there was a lot of unfinished business in the Senate he wanted to have a hand in. He had become so effective in the Senate in his first term that he most certainly would have accomplished much in the second.

Another term and then he was coming home to Oregon to spend the rest of his years writing and enjoying life with close friends.

DICK NEUBERGER had an almost unbelievable capacity for work. He fulfilled his duties as Senator as well as any man Oregon has sent to Washington. But he also found time to write for magazines and newspapers, to carry on personal correspondence that

would have kept most men busy had they nothing else to do, to make a great number of speeches, and to read every week more than most of us get to in a month.

His personal correspondence was of amazing magnitude. Children of his friends always were in his thoughts. He wrote to them and sent them gifts. So many letters to parents on important matters contained special messages for their children.

He loved young people. When he went to the Senate he was offered patronage rights. What was his first choice? To appoint a Senate page. He established a research internship on his staff for outstanding graduates of Oregon colleges in political science and journalism. He gave a large portion of his earnings from magazines to Oregon colleges as scholarship funds. The book he wrote for children about the Lewis and Clark expedition was a best seller.

His devotion to the preservation of natural resources was deep rooted. He paid the wonders and beauties of nature more than lipservice, as all who read his magazine articles knew. There was no subject he enjoyed more writing about. He enjoyed even more a day at the beach or at a lake or on a mountain trail. One of the most enjoyable days I've had was spent with the Neubergers on the beach at Ecola Park, a day of such beauty that we spoke of it many times thereafter.

DICK could have done so much for this State and its citizens in the years ahead. But there is nothing to be gained now in speculating upon that. Let us speak instead of the high place he has in the history of this State because of all he accomplished in 47 years, as a writer, State legislator, and U.S. Senator, and in countless other ways. Those who knew him intimately saw early a man of great stature, a stature that others recognized later. When he was elected to the U.S. Senate, I said to some who had doubts, "DICK NEUBERGER will be a fine Senator. Just give him time. He has all the qualities that a man needs to be a great Senator." That he measured up was so well recognized throughout Oregon that it was conceded by almost all the politicians that he would be reelected by the biggest margin ever given a candidate for the Senate from this State.

I could write much, much more about DICK NEUBERGER. But much of it would be personal and this is not the place for that. I shall close by saying that no man will pass this way whom I shall think better of.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, Mar. 11, 1960]

NEUBERGER'S RISE IN SENATE RAPID, IMPRESSIVE, DESERVED

(By A. Robert Smith)

WASHINGTON.—RICHARD L. NEUBERGER came to the Senate as a critic in the highest literary sense and in the most partisan political sense. He departed as a creative and skilled legislator whose wholly unpartisan accomplishments seem destined to memoralize him for decades to come.

In his relatively brief 5-year career as U.S. Senator, NEUBERGER rose visibly in the estimate of impartial observers here, and even in the view of many who disagreed with much of the liberal program he advocated.

The change in NEUBERGER, one of the most evident witnessed in the Senate in years, came about in midway through his term when, coincidentally, he deliberately broke his political alliance with Wayne Morse.

NEUBERGER decided, he said in 1957, that Oregon could no longer afford to have two gadfly Senators. He did not begrudge Senator Morse this role nor challenge his senior colleague's preeminence in that sphere. It served a useful purpose; but as for himself, he explained, he would thereafter concentrate on "getting things done" legislatively for Oregon.

In the 3 years or less left to him, NEUBERGER amassed an impressive legislative record. The achievement to which he devoted the most time and effort was saving the Klamath pine forests from the threat of clear-cutting and destruction as a source of sustained-yield timber, a watershed, and a wildlife sanctuary. The threat had arisen from a Republican-sponsored act ending Federal supervision over the Klamath Indian Tribe and Reservation. After developing a working liaison with Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton, he got through his bill to put the $90 million forest under sustained-yield protection and to create a Federal wildlife refuge for the Pacific flyway.

"MR. CONSERVATION"

This accomplishment, his first major one, epitomized the endeavor which NEUBERGER exerted in behalf of conservation of resources. What he had determined early in life to crusade for in magazine articles and books, NEUBERGER the Senator learned to implement on the Federal statute books. Some thought he was extreme in his advocacy of conservation causes, while others thought of him as "Mr. Conservation" in Congress.

He next won enactment of a bill authorizing Fort Clatsop National Memorial to mark the end of the Lewis and Clark expedition, of which he loved to write. He gladly shared honors for getting it passed with the Congressman in whose district it lay, Representative Walter Norblad, a Republican—although everyone close at hand recognized that it was NEUBERGER whose skill got it enacted.

MOST DECISIVE

One of his first and most frustrating crusades in the Senate was against allowing commercial signboards to clutter the new interstate highway network Congress was planning to finance. But his speeches and articles against obscuring the Nation's scenery ran into heavy lobbying from the billboard lobby and drew only halfhearted support from the administration. The outcome was a weak compromise to give States incentive payments if they ban billboards. It didn't please him, but he felt it was all that could be salvaged.

As a junior Senator, NEUBERGER was assigned to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, where he made his most decisive national contributions. Last year he put through the Senate a bill agreeable to the administration for providing health insurance and medical programs for Government workers, recognized as a model for similar programs in private industry.

VOTED WITH GOP

When the administration plugged for higher postal rates to cut the postal deficit and increase postal workers' wages, NEUBERGER gradually became convinced that more Government services had to become more nearly self-financing to avoid greater Federal fiscal deficits. While his party generally opposed Federal increase, NEUBERGER voted with the Republicans to provide a single-vote margin for the bill in committee. It was ultimately enacted.

Thereafter, NEUBERGER spoke more of the need for fiscal responsibility than for Federal spending programs, although he still advocated many of the latter in the field of public works, health, education, and welfare programs. For this new emphasis on pay-as-you-go, it was widely supposed that this liberal Democrat had suddenly become a conservative. Republicans who once denounced him now began to pay him compliments.

SUCCESSFUL FIGHT

NEUBERGER did not, however, renounce those liberal programs he had previously espoused. But he did insist that it was a liberal's responsibility to face the cost of new programs—not simply because it was virtuous to balance the Federal budget but because,

he pointed out, the bulk of taxation and cost of interest on the national debt falls upon the low- and middle-income brackets, not just the rich and the corporate interests whom liberals often condemn.

After he fought back successfully from his cancer bout, NEUBERGER spoke and wrote more about the demands for more cancer research funds at the National Institutes of Health. But his massive program in this field was too costly for the administration to accept. Nevertheless, Congress steadily increased cancer research funds, for which he deserved at least an assist on the final scoreboard.

UNTHINKABLE OPPOSITION

Last year he launched his last major effort when he introduced a bill authorizing an Oregon Dunes National Seashore. He confidently supposed he could pilot it through Congress in short order. To NEUBERGER, the man of ideas and conservation vision, it was unthinkable that Oregonians could oppose a new national park with its great local and tourist benefits. But vocal opposition did arise, and in recent months NEUBERGER joined forces with Gov. Mark Hatfield to compromise their differences in behalf of the proposal. It was the one major achievement he hoped to chalk up in this year's session—but illness took him home to Portland this winter before he could get the bill underway.

RAPID LEARNER

NEUBERGER won the stature and esteem with which he departed Washington by the hardest route. For when he came here in 1955, he caused much headshaking when he charged President Eisenhower with lawbreaking for reports that White House lawn squirrels were being trapped and shipped to West Virginia because they dug up the presidential golf green.

But NEUBERGER learned the ropes rapidly, if with some awkwardness. He even wrote an article about the mistakes he had made as a freshman. In another article he said the best advice he had ever received was to keep in mind that the other fellow might be right. He frequently prefaced comments with, "I may be mistaken, but I think * * *" and he displayed a tolerence in debate that was uncommon in a chamber where headstrong and willful men sometimes create the image of absolute certainty.

A PUBLIC MAN

Throughout his career, NEUBERGER was truly a public man. He yearned to communicate his ideas to the public, to persuade and to lead, to explain and to justify. He had faith that the citizens of Oregon, when given full and candid accounting of public

business, would respond intelligently even at possible cost to themselves.

So in the final analysis, NEUBERGER's accomplishments came not only out of his conversion to the spirit of bipartisan accommodation within the Senate which marked his later years. It came also from his faith in the people's sustaining role in the democratic process.

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Capital Press, Mar. 11, 1960]

PASSING IN REVIEW

(By Dewey Rand)

It is difficult for me to realize DICK NEUBERGER will no longer stride Oregon's political stage to represent his State in the U.S. Senate. Even his series of recent illnesses were no preparation for his tragic death this week at the age of 47.

It doesn't seem like two and a half decades since I first met DICK back in the gloomy and disturbing days of the depression, but it was. And it was then, in the thirties, that the bright young man became interested in politics as a cure for a serious national illness. This political interest led to one of his two extraordinarily successful careers. The other was, of course, as a writer.

DICK NEUBERGER's political history spans the period that has changed the State's political arrangement. Prior to the great depression the State was controlled by the Republicans and now Oregon is a two-party State. DICK, through his political activities and successes, had as much to do with this transformation as any other person. And all but the most partisan members of the Republican Party agree this change has been beneficial.

There is no need for me to review DICK's record, which is being so thoroughly covered by the press, or to join in the deserved eulogies he is receiving nationwide and that he deserves. I would like, rather, to mention a few personal observations and impressions of this man and of this period. They will shed little new light but they might be of interest.

One is the recently acquired custom of Republican editors of saying that DICK NEUBERGER "has matured." I believe this is misleading, although not deliberately so. Of course all people mature as time goes on and experiences have their effect. But I believe these observers were misled by DICK's change in method rather than any basic change of philosophy. He did learn the practical methods of political accomplishment but in my periodic talks with him I did not find the change in his ideas his former critics

claimed. These editors were, I believe, engaged in wishful thinking about someone they were stuck with, for DICK's reelection was conceded by nearly everyone.

One of my most distressing experiences was the result of the disagreement between DICK and Wayne Morse. I had admired these two men for many years and considered them both my personal friends, as I did until the last day. But there was nothing I could do about this clash of personalities as much as I wished to and it was all the more tragic to me because I thought it all unnecessary. They were never so very far apart on the larger issues they were called upon, as Senators, to judge.

I visited with DICK shortly before he made his last trip to Washington, just before illness brought him home for the last time. He had decided then to run for reelection although he did not announce until last week. We talked of the coming campaign and I assured him I would do what I could to help. It was a small thing but he was pleased. And now I am pleased that I told him then that I believed he was an excellent U.S. Senator and had made clear my support was unreserved.

What more is there to say without being repetitious or emotional? There is, I think, one fact that has not been given much attention. That is, DICK's political career is not only a high compliment to him but also to the political arrangements in which it could happen. In a conservative State and as a member of a minority party—in the beginning—a young man reached the U.S. Senate and was a credit to that body, and over the sometimes bitter opposition of many who now praise him.

And when I appreciate more fully that he has left the stage I will miss, more than I do today, his brightness and imagination, his skillful political activities in behalf of issues in which we both believed. But most af all I'll miss his steady friendship as will hundreds of others.

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Capital Press, Mar. 11, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

The sudden and tragic death of U.S. Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER leaves a void in the State of Oregon that will not soon be filled, if it ever is.

He was a great humanitarian who, through his congressional influence, contributed immeasurably to a better life for people all over the world. He was a loyal native son of Oregon who never missed an opportunity to bring credit and improvement to his State. But more than all that, he was a particularly gifted writer

who, in addition to doing good works, could persuade others to do them. His great talent in making complicated public issues clear to the public will be sorely missed.

It is ironical that this useful man, who struggled so hard for better health for others and had done so long before his own health began to deteriorate, should be struck down just when he was becoming most effective in this field.

The Senator, a fierce partisan through most of his life, had mellowed and just begun to specialize in the field of health, in which field he saw no partisanship. He said, after his scare with cancer, that he never again could be so partisan after seeing the most wealthy Republican wrapped in a sheet, as he was, undergoing an examination that would determine whether his life would go on or whether it would end.

In the course of events there will have to be a successor to his seat in the Senate and, because the Democratic Party has become a vigorous one in Oregon, there are a number who could fill it. But none could fill the same role that Senator NEUBERGER filled.

[From the Oregonian, appearing in the Lebanon Express, Mar. 10, 1960]

FULFILLMENT

On that day in November 1954, when the late count of ballots showed that RICHARD L. NEUBERGER had defeated the veteran incumbent, U.S. Senator Guy Cordon, the Oregonian's editorial comment began:

"Someone—perhaps it was Woodrow Wilson—once observed that when a man goes to Washington, D.C., he either grows or swells."

The man who wrote those words, the late Philip H. Parris, then editor of the editorial page of the Oregonian, also said of the Senator-elect: "We know he has the intelligence to grow into a truly great Senator." Mr. Parris did not live to check the record of Senator NEUBERGER's performance. And now, near the end of his first term, Senator NEUBERGER is gone—the victim of a cruel fate which gave him victory over cancer only to end his life by cerebral hemorrhage.

It must now be recorded for posterity that Senator NEUBERGER, in Washington, D.C., and in the hearts of his many personal friends, his loyal political supporters and his opponents in past political battles, did not swell. He grew. His stature as a Senator and as a man became greater in each year of his service. He was well on the way to becoming a statesman.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

DICK NEUBERGER, a prodigious worker and enthusiast for each cause he embraced, was a product of the great depression and this was reflected in his prolific writings and in his politics. In his earlier days he was, to some extent, a prisoner of his own campaign techniques. He was an admirer of George W. Norris and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a New Dealer and liberal, an inheritor of the Gifford Pinchot-Teddy Roosevelt traditions in conservation of natural resources, the defender of the unfortunate and aged, the successful spokesman for a minority party in his State.

As an author, his touch was professionally sure in touching the springs of hope, ambition, and idealism in the breasts of his readers. He became perhaps the greatest publicist for the Pacific Northwest and Alaska in modern times.

Five years in the United States Senate taught him, he frankly said, that all is not black nor white, that the civil rights viewpoints of a southerner are entitled to respectful opposition, that personal vendettas are a waste of energy and degrading, that a Republican President is entitled to support of Democrats on vital security and world issues. He mellowed and became a better Senator long before the devastating diagnosis of cancer gave him even more humility.

DICK NEUBERGER'S capacity for growth was fully demonstrated before his untimely death. It was matched only by his capacity for hard work and his dedication to those principles of government he believed to be valid. He was not handcuffed by tradition. His active mind sought always to find new and better ways of accomplishing the shining goal of a more fruitful life for all. It is tragic that he was not allotted his full time in which to grow.

[From the Lebanon (Oreg.) Express, Mar. 10, 1960]

DEATH CUTS SHORT A BRILLIANT POLITICAL CAREER

Oregonians and thousands of others the Nation over are mourning the passing of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER, whose untimely death at the age of 47 cut short a meteoric rise to the statesmanship level of politics.

Although he recovered from a bout with cancer but a short time ago, illness which followed plus months and years of strenuous effort in serving his party, his State, and his country proved too great a burden for the man who in recent months has done more to win the respect and admiration of former political foes than any man we can remember. NEUBERGER was a fighter to the end; a champion of everything he believed to be right and best for the

people he served. History will mark him as one of Oregon's outstanding Congressmen and without question the loss of his services will be keenly felt in many areas.

Following NEUBERGER's election in 1954, which shattered a 40-year record of Republican representation from Oregon in Congress, he became a controversial and sometimes extremely partisan figure. Maturity gained in his congressional career, a broader attitude, and deepening respect for those of other political beliefs won for him in his last years the friendship of many who were formerly bitter opponents.

We like to recall what he wrote for the press following his successful operation for cancer: "A brush with cancer tends to place many things in true perspective * * * old antagonisms fade away. I no longer can transform political disagreements into any feelings of personal malice. When one is grateful to be alive, it is difficult to dislike a fellow human being."

We will remember him not only as our Senator whom we always admired and respected, though often disagreeing with him in these columns, but as a personal friend who with his charming wife was often a guest in our home.

To her we extend our heartfelt sympathy, knowing she will find comfort in the knowledge that he gave his life in service to his country. What more can be asked of any man?

[From the Milwaukie (Oreg.) Review, Mar. 10, 1960]

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

DICK belongs now to the great legends of Oregon.

Oregon-born, a product of Portland's schools and the University of Oregon, DICK NEUBERGER loved his Oregon and the Northwest above everything. His effective voice, the best-selling products of prolific pen, his tireless political liberalism, all served the people of his native Oregon as did no other man of our time.

His breakthrough in the Senate election of 1954 turned the Oregon tide after 50 years of entrenched Republicanism. He had piloted this development as author and legislator through the dynamic years, with Maurine, as a State legislator.

To Maurine, to his mother and father, to his sister Jane Goodsell and her children who were their uncle's favorites, is left a heritage unmatched among the great Oregonians of our century.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Albany (Oreg.) Greater Oregon and the Benton County Herald, Mar. 18, 1960]

A Great Public Servant

All Oregon was stunned last week by the sudden death of Richard Lewis Neuberger of a cerebral hemorrhage. Nor were we alone; in other States and in the Nation's Capital, many mourned with us.

Dynamic is a descriptive term that fits Dick Neuberger, a political liberal who was the first Democrat to be elected to the U.S. Senate from Oregon in 40 years. His effective speaking no less than his brilliant writing served the people of his native Oregon as had no other. His years of service in the State legislature, where he and Maurine formed the able team that also worked for Oregon in Congress, likewise should not be forgotten.

To Maurine, to his mother and father, and to his sister and her children who were their uncle's favorites, we offer heartfelt sympathy. Dick, as he liked to be called, will be remembered as one of the great Oregonians of our century.

The untimely death of Senator Neuberger, who was only 47, has been a shock to us all. But, now that the final tribute has been paid, our thoughts must not linger with the past but must turn to the future. Dick would have wanted no delay on his account in proceeding with the work in which he was so vitally interested.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, Mar. 10, 1960]

Five Years of Solid Achievement

All though Wednesday the teletype machines brought in their pounds and pounds of paper telling of the death of Senator Richard L. Neuberger. Much of the wordage expressed sorrow at the loss of a man who was a personal friend to thousands. That was a natural first reaction. One of the world's really nice people was dead. But we cannot forget that Oregon and the Nation also lost a Senator of great ability and achievement. Perhaps other Senators have accomplished as much in 5 years. Many have done much less.

The Neuberger file in any Oregon newspaper office is a thick one. Leafing through it, the researcher finds a commendable record of things done and a portfolio just as commendable, of plans. Here are a few of the accomplishments:

The forest and marshes of the Klamath Indian Reservation will be forever under sustained-yield management thanks to Mr. Neuberger's hard work.

Oregon has its first historic shrine, the National Park Service's Fort Clatsop near Astoria, thanks to the efforts of a man who was the country's greatest living fan of Lewis and Clark.

The country has standards to protect roadside beauty and scenery along the 42,000-mile Interstate Highway System, thanks to a man who liked grass and trees.

The Yaquina Bay project, a $19 million job, was authorized, thanks to a man who recognized the need for industrial development, commerce, and trade.

The Federal gasoline tax was raised and postal rates went up, thanks to a man who felt that highway users and letterwriters ought to pay their fair share for the benefits they receive.

Public employees can take part in a voluntary health insurance and medical program, thanks to a man whose concern for human health was a passion. This was the passion, stimulated perhaps by his own bout with cancer, that moved him to urge greater Federal aid for medical research.

His work was not done. Still close to his heart was the establishment of a seashore recreation area on the coast and legislation for a Columbia River regional development corporation which would work to make basin improvements self-financing.

He was a visionary, true enough. The country needs visionaries. Most of the established programs, public and private, were once visionary. They became realities because visionaries refused to think of them as unattainable. Senator NEUBERGER, however, was not an irresponsible visionary. He sought to blend social welfare with fiscal responsibility. He was a "pay as you go" man.

Had he lived to serve another term, he might have achieved his greatest goal, one that would assure him a place in the list of truly great Senators. He might have made more progress in his program for medical research, especially into cancer. He, as no other Senator, could have spoken on the floor of the Senate in behalf of millions who are suffering or who will suffer, from this condition. Public health, even more than conservation, had become his great interest. Suggestions are already being advanced about suitable ways to memorialize his name. It should be done—in one or the other of these fields.

[From the Bend (Oreg.) Bulletin, Mar. 9, 1960]

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, 1912–60

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, junior U.S. Senator from Oregon, died early today in a Portland hospital following a cerebral hemorrhage suffered yesterday.

Ironically, he died of the same ailment which took his longtime political hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is difficult to write of NEUBERGER and his career in an objective fashion. NEUBERGER was not a particularly objective man in the first place. In the second, he was a close personal friend of the editor of this newspaper and was on good terms with many members of its staff.

DICK NEUBERGER first was elected to the U.S. Senate, by a very close margin of victory, 6 years ago. He was then one of the Nation's more controversial political figures.

His career in the Senate got off to a rather shaky start. But he matured quickly, and at the time of his death was noted as an effective Member of the Senate. He was a fine Senator for Oregon.

NEUBERGER was an extreme partisan earlier in his political career. His maturity, plus the fact that his bout with cancer 2 years ago brought him expressions of hope and good will from all walks of American political life, had dimmed his partisanship.

Future historians of the Senate probably will not recognize NEUBERGER as a "great" in that body. Such honors never are accorded those who serve only one term.

But Oregon historians will recognize him, we are sure, as one of the most articulate men ever to serve in high office in or from this State.

"The king is dead, long live the (new) king," is a saying used often to indicate the fleeting attention given to a politician who dies in office. No sooner is the death announced than the infighting begins to determine his successor.

The balance of NEUBERGER'S term will be filled by a man appointed by Gov. Mark Hatfield, although there may be considerable juggling over the political faith of the appointee.

But, NEUBERGER'S death occurred only a little more than 48 hours before the final deadline for filing for nominations for the May primary. And it creates the biggest shuffle ever known in Oregon politics.

NEUBERGER was assured of the nomination. He faced no serious opposition. Now that picture is completely changed, and serious Democrats—probably led by ex-Gov. Robert D. Holmes and Congresswoman Edith Green—can be expected to do some serious maneuvering and real soul-searching in the next 48 hours.

Republicans, too, had been hardput to find a serious candidate. One mentioned was ex-Gov. Elmo Smith, Albany newspaper publisher. If others were interested in the race, word of it had not reached the high country.

NEUBERGER and his wife, Maurine—a charming lady who stood stanchly at her husband's side—made one of the Nation's more prominent political teams.

It is broken up now, and Oregon and the Nation are the losers.

[From the Wallowa County Chieftain, Mar. 24, 1960]

RICHARD NEUBERGER—A FRIEND

The death of Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER takes from the national and international political and literary field an illustrious man intensely devoted to the task of making the lives of people everywhere richer and more secure. His heart was warm toward those who needed help, and he was always generous with his time and his talents where there was an opportunity to give some worthy person or cause a helping hand.

With all his many interests and the very heavy demands upon him he managed to keep in personal touch with thousands of friends, finding time somehow to write countless notes and letters of explanation, greetings, and words of praise. He never forgot a friend.

He hated injustice; and for the weak and oppressed, in their efforts to secure justice, he was always an ardent champion.

What was politically wise and expedient meant nothing to him. His decisions were reached by a careful study of all available information tempered with a feeling that no one should be unnecessarily hurt and that there is some good in all men. Even in his bitterest political foes he found many warm, personal friendships and never hesitated to say kind and complimentary things about his adversaries when they made noble stands.

Like all mortal men he had his faults and his weaknesses, but they were never due to cruelty, vindictiveness, or a lack of courage. To always be right is more than any of us can achieve.

Stone monuments are often erected to honor the memory of great men but they serve no real purpose. The real monument honoring any true Christian is in the hearts of those who were inspired by his example.

The memory of RICHARD NEUBERGER will be a warm and cherished one in the hearts of many, many people.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Oregon Labor Press, Mar. 18, 1960]

DICK NEUBERGER'S COURAGE WILL BE LONG REMEMBERED

(By James T. Marr)

Through most of my years in the labor movement I can remember DICK NEUBERGER. Back in the early 1930's, when he was still a student at the University of Oregon, DICK was working for progressive legislation that would benefit people.

DICK was the people's friend. He was always opposed to special-interest legislation that would not benefit the ordinary person. He was a great humanitarian.

I well remember, from those early years, that DICK joined with the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Oregon State Grange in their battle to defeat the general sales tax.

Two of DICK's earliest and closest friendships in the labor movement were with Ben Osborne and Kelley Loe. They fought together, side by side, in many a battle for the people's benefit in the Oregon political arena.

Ben Osborne was an iron worker and a dedicated trade unionist who provided great leadership as executive secretary of the Oregon State Federation of Labor through the depression years until his death in 1938. Kelley Loe, a printer by trade, was one of Oregon's most revered trade-union leaders. He served as legislative assistant to Ben Osborne and his successors until his death in 1957. Ben and Kelley were close friends and coworkers with DICK NEUBERGER during his early years as a student and young freelance writer—long before his first campaign by public office.

It was during the 1941 session of the State legislature that I began to follow DICK's career with close interest. Though it was his first session in the legislature, DICK served with distinction and his qualities of leadership and courage were immediately apparent.

During that 1941 session, many bills harmful to the interests of the people were introduced. DICK fought them with courage, brilliance and tremendous energy. It was during that legislative session that the people of Oregon began to learn that DICK was their champion.

After serving in the Armed Forces in World War II, DICK returned to public service when he was elected to the State senate in 1948. He served with great distinction as a State senator in the 1949, 1951, and 1953 sessions of the legislature.

His voice was heard supporting many causes that were not popular in that day. With his tremendous fund of knowledge and

energy, and his passion for research, DICK got the facts and presented them in a most effective way.

The facts usually fell on deaf ears in those years, but much of the progressive legislation that has been enacted in Oregon has resulted from DICK NEUBERGER's early support and constant advocacy.

Late in 1953, when a liberal candidate was being sought for the U.S. Senate, DICK was asked to make the race. I feel proud of the small part I had in persuading him to become a candidate.

And I can remember, as if it were yesterday, when DICK called my home early on that historic November morning in 1954 before all the votes were counted. He believed at that moment that he had failed to win election. But before the day was over the picture changed: the "lunchbox vote" was counted and DICK became a U.S. Senator.

He served with all his might. He gave everything he had, including his life, to serve mankind.

DICK will be missed not only by members of labor unions but by all citizens of Oregon and the Nation.

When history is written the name of DICK NEUBERGER will fill many pages. Because of his faith in people, because of his great work to develop and protect the natural resources of the Pacific Northwest, because of his unfailing humanitarianism, the memory of DICK NEUBERGER will never die.

[From the Roseburg (Oreg.) News Review, Mar. 10, 1960]

SENATOR NEUBERGER

(By Charles V. Stanton)

The sudden death of Senator RICHARD L. (DICK) NEUBERGER is a great shock.

A controversial figure in State and National politics, NEUBERGER was high among the Nation's characters on the political stage. Fate blotted out a future that held for him great political promise.

It seems somewhat odd that the Senator, a recent cancer sufferer, should die from what apparently was an unrecognized physical condition. Overjoyed that he had been found free from malignancy, after surgery, NEUBERGER recently had suffered from several ailments which, in themselves, seemed minor.

A hard worker, worried by his physical condition, driving himself to serve in the office to which he had been named, he became victim to virus infections and a nervous disorder. He had taken a brief vacation in an effort to regain his health, had filed for

reelection and, apparently, was preparing for a vigorous campaign, when he suddenly was stricken by cerebral hemorrhage.

PUBLIC STIRRED

NEUBERGER brought a unique freshness to politics. Coupling his political philosophies with a masterful ability for press agentry, he stirred public interest in political affairs, in party organization, and in competition. He made many valuable contributions to politics not the least of which was his influence on the affairs of his party and more widespread appreciation of political activities by the whole public.

The political philosophies he advocated were under attack on many occasions in this column. I was often critical of the Senator's brand of politics and of some of his methods.

On the other hand, I held him in high esteem because of his dedication and sincerity of purpose.

NEUBERGER had an uncanny ability to seize upon the weaknesses and frailities of men and politics in general and to "needle" his contemporaries. In that respect he unquestionably helped to clean up various practices and to produce a better brand of politics.

In this column I have opposed from time to time what I felt were "schemes" carrying political motivation. In such cases I have unquestionably been harsh in my criticism. But I have also felt that many of the Senator's acts and proposals were good, and have so stated in the column and in personal correspondence.

RESOURCES SAVED

A monument, I believe, will be his work in connection with saving for the public benefit the timber of the Klamath Indian Reservation.

The Klamath Indians are to be freed from their status as wards of the Government. But involved in the legislation abolishing the former status is the disposition of assets belonging to Indians on the reservation. Included in those assets is a tremendous block of extremely valuable timber.

Efforts were made by some interests to get that timber into private hands. In such case it would probably have been removed much too rapidly, and with inadequate financial returns to the Indians.

NEUBERGER advanced a proposal to put the timber under Federal control and on a sustained yield program.

He withdrew his own legislation, however, when an administration bill was presented, because he felt the issue was one in which there should be no partisanship.

By his action he promoted accord and secured the adoption of a plan whereby the timber on the reservation will remain as a perpetual supply, while, at the same time, the Indians are assured of equitable payment for reservation resources.

Thus the beautiful pine timber in the Klamath Reservation will forever be a monument to the Oregon Senator to whom conservation was almost a second religion.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Reporter, Mar. 10, 1960]

MEMORIAL FOR A SENATOR

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, in a formal announcement of his candidacy for a second term in the Senate issued little more than a week before his tragic death Wednesday, listed what he considered some of his major legislative achievements in his 6 years in Washington. Among them are sponsorship of measures setting standards for protection of roadside beauty along the Interstate Highway System, establishing the Fort Clatsop historic shrine under the national park service and authorizing $90 million to save the pine forests and wildlife marshes of the Klamath basin and Indian reservation.

He mentioned also two legislative projects he regarded as "hopefully close to success." These are creation of the Oregon seacoast national park in Lane, Douglas, and Coos Counties and legislation setting up a Columbia River regional development corporation which would channel revenues from existing projects to needed undertakings in water power, navigation, irrigation, and flood control.

It will be noted that these legislative projects mirror Senator NEUBERGER'S deep concern for preservation of the natural beauties and resources of his beloved Pacific Northwest. This same concern was the central theme of the writings which gained him national recognition before he began his legislative career.

These legislative accomplishments constitute a fitting memorial to Senator NEUBERGER. Oregonians enjoying the beauties of our forests and coastline now and in years to come will have reason to be grateful for his devotion to the public interest and to this rugged land from which he drew his inspiration. We are the richer for the efforts of this dedicated public servant who did not hesitate to give his life to further that devotion.

RICHARD LEWIS NEUBERGER

[From the Florence (Oreg.) News, Mar. 10, 1960]

SENATOR NEUBERGER

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER who passed away in Portland yesterday was a controversial figure in this area.

Although we have not approved of some of his proposed legislation, especially the creation of a national park south of Florence, nor of his methods in furthering his projects, we have appreciated his attitude in one respect: the voters always knew where he stood on vital issues.

In this respect Senator NEUBERGER was forthright. He did not waver. It would be gratifying if more of our public officials displayed this courage.

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